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THE
FIRST SOUTH AFRICANS

and the Laws which governed them

to which is appended

THE DIARY OF ADAM TAS

By

M. WHITING SPILHAUS, F.R.G.S.

JUTA & COMPANY LIMITED

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Constantia, 1949.

NOTE

This book is a collection of essays in which the writer traces to their source the "plakkaaten" or laws of the land which governed the Cape from the arrival of Johan van Riebeeck to the end of Willem Adriaan van der Stel's period of office (1652-1707); roughly the first half-century of settlement, and exactly half a century from the year (1657) when the first freemen were granted land.

The growing pains of this period culminated in the outburst which succeeded in removing van der Stel from office. Constant reference is made in the essays to Adam Tas's diary, which may be regarded as the voice of the climax to the first period of freeman farming. Thereafter, there was no staying the exodus of trekkers who in increasing numbers wandered farther afield from the gentler and more fertile valleys within sound of cannon-shot from Table Bay.

A new translation of the diary appears at the end of the book. The "plakkaaten" (omitting the specific penalties for infringement) have been translated by the courtesy of Miss M. K. Jeffreys, M.A., from her "Kaapse Plakkaatboek". Her book is one of the most valuable of books dealing with the records in the Cape Archives which the Archives Commission of the Union Government has published in recent years.

Quotations from the Cape Journals and from the Letters Despatched and Received are taken from Leibbrandt's translation into English.

INTRODUCTION

At the end of the first half-century of settlement we find living at the Cape under the government of the Dutch East India Company a community of "freemen" numbering, with their families, something under seventeen hundred souls. The term "freeman" described any man who tilled the soil or plied a trade other than in the immediate service of the Company, but the term was a misnomer, as will presently appear. Numbered among these men was a sprinkling of emancipated slaves, and of natives banished from the Far Eastern territories of the Company. They enjoyed the same civic rights as any other freeman.

Round about the Castle, overlooking Table Bay, resided the freemen artisans, who not only plied a trade but also lived by taking in ships' personnel and visitors to the Cape as lodgers, selling produce from their gardens, and sometimes by buying and selling goods of all kinds in the fashion described under the heading of *Trade* p. 156. To the south, between the Castle and Wynberg, not many more than a score of men were farming. In 1680, when the Governor, Simon van der Stel (father and predecessor of Willem Adriaan), with so much creative enthusiasm founded the settlement of Stellenbosch, and from 1689-90, when the Company sent out a number of French Huguenot families (refugees from the revocation of the Edict of Nantes), the importance of agricultural development shifted from the Peninsula. Drakenstein came into being, and Fransch Hoek. Better and more grazing, more generous grants of land, had set in train the more real appearance of a growing colony. Still farther afield a few men had been settled by Willem Adriaan van der Stel in the "Land of Waveren" (Tulbagh district), and men were thinly scattered on loan farms (grazing land rented from the Company) in various directions.

Stellenbosch, however, a little village of about a dozen houses, was the centre of country activity. The name applied not only to the village but to a district. Drakenstein, the Land of Waveren, Fransch Hoek, Paarl, and all the outlying farm-houses were embraced in it. Six burgher councillors—four nominated by Stellenbosch and two by Drakenstein—presided over by a landdrost or sheriff, represented local management.

The Government of the Cape station on behalf of the Company resided in a "Council of Policy". It was immediately

subject to the direction of the Company's High Council of India situate in Batavia (Java). The Company's Board of Control or "Collegium" in Holland, its members elected from the general Directorate, was familiarly known as the "Seventeen". The number of sixteen was made up of directors elected by the six chambers or local boards of the Company. The chamber of Amsterdam, which contributed half of the Company's capital assets, provided eight members; Zealand (headquarters Middelburgh), which contributed a quarter, provided four members; Delft, Rotterdam, Hoorn, and Enkhuizen each contributed one eighth and provided two members apiece. The seventeenth member was the nominee of shareholders in the rest of the United Netherlands. Up to 1735 the Governor of the Cape in Council received orders from the Seventeen in Holland and from Batavia, and was subject to comment and criticism at both hands. (Hence the action of Tas and his friends in sending letters of complaint both to Holland and to Batavia.) Other than this, the Governor himself was subject to the oversight of the Fiscal, an independent official answerable only to higher authority. This translation of the Fiscal to such power was established in March 1688. It was an office sensitive to abuse. The Directorate off-loaded its obligation to pay this man a salary commensurate with his responsibility by permitting him to retain a percentage of the fines which he caused to be imposed upon people in the course of his activities as prosecutor. Other perquisites from the Court of Justice, the Customs, sales of deceased's property, etc., also came his way.

Every year the honorary admiral (that is to say, the most senior Government official) in the annual Return Fleet from Batavia to Holland acted as commissioner of enquiry into Cape affairs and carried home his report. At intervals still higher ranking officials with wider authority, who might travel in out- or home-going fleets, acted as commissioners-general. With the Commissioner the Governor in Council discussed matters which the Cape Government had no power finally to determine, pre-eminently the regulation of fleet's affairs and of ships' personnel, and the means of balancing the Cape budget. Any step which modified or reversed a common usage, or dealt with an emergency, and which the Governor in Council had been obliged to take pending Directorate approval, would now be discussed. •

A good deal of power was vested in the annual commissioners, and though sometimes the Directorate altered or reversed their decisions, much of their work remained law at the Cape. It was the Commissioner of 1700 who granted land to the Governor,

Willem Adriaan van der Stel, and to his brother François (who before taking out letters of freedom served in the Secretariat at the Cape), and to François the monopoly of certain fishing, fowling and hunting rights which his fellow farmers so much resented. An earlier commissioner-general, the Lord of Mydrecht, granted Simon van der Stel his estate in the valley he called Constantia, which Simon farmed during his period of office and to which he retired as a farmer after his resignation. He made the best wine, and laid the foundation of the fame which Constantia wines were later to attain. The freemen suspected him of using a secret recipe. Actually, his success lay in the fact that Constantia soil was suited to the type of wine he produced, and also to his forbearing to pick his grapes before they were mature—a matter which the freemen could hardly be persuaded was of importance.

The duty of the commissioners was to see that affairs at the Cape were conducted as smoothly as was consistent with the maintenance of the Company's profits. The commissioners, therefore, coming into contact with the circumstances of existence at the Cape, were apt on the whole to be lenient about the activities of Company's servants there when it came to making a bit on the side, provided that the Company's profits were not jeopardised. Had it not been so, the continual evasion of the Directorate's order against private trading and farming on the part of its servants—the latter a standing grievance with the farmers—must have been effectively stopped long before Willem Adriaan van der Stel appeared upon the scene, and by farming too successfully, and by trespassing too far upon the freemen's market, caused such a rumpus.

The fact was that the Company paid its servants badly, and the Cape station offered no opportunity comparable with Batavia of supplementing their pay and keeping them content. The records reveal that the Directorate itself had not been consistent in enforcing its mandate, possibly because the time was only now approaching when the freemen could so far supply the Company that competition with Company's servants constituted a serious threat to their market.

Besides the sittings of the Council of Policy there were other Courts of deliberation such as Justice; the Court of Petty (Civil) Cases, established to relieve pressure on the Court of Justice; the Matrimonial Court, to which all couples wishing to marry had to apply; the Orphan Chamber, which cared for the interests of children by a former marriage when a second took place, and of children orphaned and with inheritance in trust. With the growth

of the settlement these courts had been established as separate from the sittings of the Council of Policy as an indivisible body, but each court, though burgher councillors had seats, was subject to the membership of chosen members of the Council of Policy. Even the Church Council was no exception, and ministers of religion were Company's servants, appointed and paid by the Company.

The freemen had no hand in the government of the colony. The governing body—the Council of Policy—consisted of eight of the most senior of the Company's servants, including the commander of the garrison. The appointment of burgher councillors (that is to say, district councillors) was controlled by the Governor-General in Council. The burgher communities of the Cape and the county districts submitted a double list of nominees and from this list the men most suitable in the opinion of the Council were chosen. The same rule applied to the nomination of officers for the burgher militia, and for the elders and deacons of the churches. The choice of suitable candidates appears to have been small up to this period for, as in an earlier generation, the same names appear again and again.

The burgher councillors had little power to resist the Government as they were under oath to support it. (This in the ordinary way. Burgher councillors were among the men in rebellion against van der Stel.) An intelligent and trusted man could always do something to ease the way of the burghers he represented, but that was all. Submission was the only answer if the burgher point of view was unacceptable. Indeed, to the end of the Company's rule the burgher councillors presented petitions to the Council of Policy to be forwarded to the Directorate, seeking in effect the status of free burghers in actual fact, but they never succeeded in obtaining it. They were part of a commercial organisation, and as such primarily subject to the exigencies of that organisation.

Apart from the evils of such a form of government when considered from the settlers' point of view, too much was done, and had always been done, which invited every form of jobbery. Everyone on the station who had the courage to chance it pitted his wits against the Company. The farmers did it to a man and small blame to them. The Company's servants did it because they were underpaid and the subjects of temptation to which they were exposed by the Company's devious means of off-loading its financial liabilities. Where perquisites are acknowledged as part of a man's pay the definition of how much he deserves is apt to become elastic in the man's mind.

2

The very existence of "freemen" at the Cape originated in a plan devised to save the Company's pocket. In the first instance the Directorate had no intention of founding a colony. It required a substantial refreshment station to serve its fleets voyaging back and forth Batavia; a place where scurvy-stricken sailors and soldiers could receive hospital attention; where ships could effect running repairs; where they could be revictualled with cattle bartered from the aborigines, and with vegetables, fruit, and grain raised upon lands cultivated by Company's servants. The whole was to be protected by a sufficient garrison, members of which—men of all trades—would serve in every capacity required of them besides their garrison duty.

For the first five years of its existence the refreshment station at the Cape was run on these lines. Under the Company's head-gardener—himself illiterate and subject to van Riebeeck's inexhaustible vigilance and omnifarious knowledge—men of the garrison tilled the soil and laid the foundation of the garden which in years to come was to be famous all over the world. They built the timber and sod fort, the timber jetty, the store-sheds and dwelling-houses, and laid down the timber water-pipe which carried water from the foot of Table Mountain. Violent punishment awaited them if they nodded on sentry-go after the toils of the day. Sometimes they ran away, rushing blindly into the illimitable distance towards the fabled Monomatapa, or the settlements of the Portuguese on the east coast, to perish, or to return starving to be thrashed. Or they would stow away. The ships, whose soldiers and sailors seeking rest in port would be seized upon and made to lend a hand; and whose captains preferred to take their chance in passing of St. Helena and to have a quick run to Batavia, had no love of the new order. There were always friendly hands in the fleets.

The garrison was small, the men worked like convicts, none the less the Directorate ceaselessly complained of the expense of the Cape station. Van Riebeeck in consultation with the Commissioner the Governor-General of Netherlands India, Rijkloff van Goens, framed a plan of economy of which the Directorate approved. It was designed to reduce the garrison to an absolute minimum, and to save the wages and rations of the men who were necessary to the cultivation of the soil and to the herding and breeding of cattle. This plan offered men release from their contract of service and granted them a piece of land on condition

that they entered into a fresh contract to remain upon the land for twelve years, and to sell their produce to the Company at the Company's price for the refreshment of the ships

The land would cost the Company nothing. The Hottentot had already been driven from pasturage and watering-places necessary to the Company's purposes up to date, and further land could be appropriated in the same way. True, the Directorate gave no encouragement to van Riebeeck's suggestion that these tiresome little creatures, who were sufficiently courageous and vocal to express their resentment, might be lured to the fort on the promise of entertainment, and thereafter in an intoxicated condition be removed to incarceration upon the islands off the coast. In 1661 the Directorate even suggested payment for the land, and eleven years later did pay the Hottentot in merchandise to the value of £9 12s 9d for a territory about the size of Wales.

In the choice of men to receive these grants of land married men were preferred. Those who had wives or sweethearts in Holland were, on paper, encouraged to send for them under conditions which applied to the Company's Eastern possessions, and were devised by the Company to avoid having to provide passages for the homesick. Thus, the women were promised berths in the fleet provided that their husbands or their betrothed paid for their passages and equipment, and that the women contracted for themselves and severally for their children to remain twenty years in the settlement.

This Machiavellian touch, as van Riebeeck shrewdly observed, put a new complexion upon the twelve-year contract which was supposed to release the men if they so desired. As hardly a man had a brass farthing to bless himself with, wives were at a discount when van Riebeeck departed five years later. (They still were in Tas's time, though free passages had been offered to emigrants in 1670.)

The Company engaged itself to provide every man, at cost price and on credit, with his tools, plough, waggon, draught-oxen, and the nucleus of a herd and flock. In the event there were not enough ploughs to go round and some of the men turned the virgin soil of Africa with a spade. Grain was to be their preoccupation. This they were bound to deliver to the Company in order to pay off their debts. Flour they would buy back after the Company had ground it. They would grow vegetables only for their own consumption. The Company's garden would continue to supply vegetables and orchard products to the ships. They might fish provided that this occupation did not deflect them from the

essential business of raising corn and paying off their debts. If they produced a surplus over and above what the Company and their own households needed they might sell direct to ships' people on condition that they applied for a permit to do so, and understood that three days were to elapse after the arrival of the fleet before they might approach the ships. This interval would give the Company time to see the ships' affairs and to dispose of its own produce without competition. Finally, they might barter with the Hottentots for cattle and sheep provided that there was no ill-treatment which would frighten the Hottentots away, cattle and all.

The latter sanction was the jam which enabled the men to swallow all the rest. Stock was to be had from the Hottentots for a trifle of tobacco, copper, and drink. The fleets needed a large quantity. Even if the farmers had to sell at the Company's price, stock was worth running. A man could pay off his debts quickly and make his little pile besides. Moreover, grazing was much less hard work than farming, especially, as was the case, when few of them knew anything about it. In their own minds the grain project came a poor second.

The privilege of barter was given to them against van Riebeeck's better judgment. Even the threat of a hundred lashes for so much as cuffing a Hottentot had not protected the aborigines from rough usage. Not that humanitarian motives impelled van Riebeeck to proclaim this edict. Rather, he was simply afraid that they would retreat inland with their cattle, or be roused to attack. In the event, his fears were justified, and the permission to barter was withdrawn. Here began the battle of the barter which we find raging again in Tas's diary. Like van Riebeeck, van der Stel reported to the Directorate the Hottentots' complaint of assault, theft, and in van der Stel's time even of murder, after a short period of free barter. There were orderly farmers who did not engage in this traffic. They could spare neither the time nor their waggons if their farms were to prosper. There were others who stayed upon their farms but helped to equip, and profited by, these expeditions. And among the men who went there were some thorough-going rascallions.

The Company retained the right to send out its own barterers, and fine incidental work they had always done in discovering new country. The Company still had its own grain fields. Groote Schuur at Rondebosch—the home today of the Union's Prime Minister—stands on the site where stood the groote schuur or great barn of the Company in the peninsula. The Company's plan,

however, was gradually to dispossess itself of agricultural and grazing land and to depend upon the freemen. Forestry, too, the freemen were to take over, and a beginning was made in van Riebeeck's time by granting to a soldier-sawyer the southern part of what is now the National Botanical Gardens or Kirstenbosch.

The Company never quite succeeded in disburdening itself of all such responsibility. Early in the eighteenth century it still possessed very jealously guarded grazing grounds. Some property was sold during Willem Adriaan van der Stel's time—Rhodebloem (Woodstock), for instance—and some was on loan to freemen. The Groenekloof was loaned free of charge to Henning Husing, the meat-contractor, on condition that he grazed only his own beasts there. How far he observed this condition is a source of wicked enjoyment to Tas, though concern was present when he finds his uncle supplying illicit cattle dealers.

Other than the men who were granted land, soldier and sailor bachelors were given their freedom, or were loaned by the Company to landowners, to serve as "knechts" or farm-hands. Men more or less literate were also loaned in this fashion if a farmer wanted a teacher for his children. Other than the 'sick-comforters'—parish clerks—part of whose duties was to teach the Catechism and the rudiments of the three Rs, and knechts (who were dignified by the name of "tutors") the Company made little provision for education. There was not even a printing press in the settlement during the century and a half of the Company's rule, except in later years a little type for printing handbills. There were men of the second generation of colonists who, whether or not their fathers had been able to sign their names, themselves signed with a mark. In 1803 de Mist wrote in his report "The large majority of their numerous offspring were taught nothing beyond the elements of farming." At the period higher education was nowhere the privilege of other than a minority. Even so, conditions at the Cape shocked de Mist.

Life for those first freemen was indescribably hard. Inevitably they presented a petition to van Riebeeck. It is well worth study, and will be found in van Riebeeck's *Diary* (December 1658). Van Riebeeck had been granted several times as much land as anyone else, and was accused of keeping the best things for himself and of saving privileges for his favourites. When van Riebeeck was granted his land in order to farm the commissioners of the day were of mind that it did not matter where the stuff came from so long as the ships got it. The freemen could not, and did not for many a long year, produce sufficient to satisfy the Company. The

arrival of a ship with rice, which Tas mentions, was even then an important event to a settlement which could not store enough grain to tide over a bad harvest. To the enduring disgust of the Directorate the Cape had depended upon supplies of rice from the foundation of the settlement.

When van Riebeeck left in 1662 the Council of Batavia declared with no small emphasis that it never had cherished any faith in his colonisation plan, and that twenty-five skilled Chinese could provide all that was necessary for the fleets. The Directorate even went so far as to order that no more men were to be released from the service to become freemen farmers. But the English East India Company appropriated St. Helena as a refreshment station for its fleets, and the Directorate could find no other suitable station, so the Cape was obliged to struggle on.

Everyone hated the place. The fleets brought home no good report of it. Emigrants could hardly be found. The importation of slaves eased agricultural labour for the farmers, but introduced other evils and terrors. The Hottentots were quelled without much difficulty, but could be depended upon in the earlier years for no regular employment as labourers, though by the time the period of Tas's diary was reached the situation was very different. They were available, as we read there, for assisting with the harvest, and indeed for many other useful services.

Between 1662 and 1679, in which year Simon van der Stel was appointed, eight men succeeded one another in command at the Cape, one of whom described the Cape freemen as "bare as worms". Until Simon's arrival no freeholders were farming outside the Peninsula. A couple of men were on loan farms in the Tygerberg, where the Company made hay; and a few others, including Husing and Elberts, had been allowed to run sheep and cattle on the Eerste River. This was the founding of Husing's fortunes. Henning Husing was not a Hollander but a German from Hamburg—a shepherd. He married Adam Tas's aunt, who was in service in Simon van der Stel's household. He was evidently a typical, hard-working, German peasant and soon made his way. By the time Willem Adriaan arrived he was already the most prosperous man in the settlement. He acquired cattle and sheep in numbers so far above the property of his fellows that he was the only man in a position to enter into a contract to supply the Company with meat. The possession of the contract increased his wealth. He had a safe market and could expand with certainty of recompense. In actual fact, he was what the Company in van Riebeeck's time had envisioned all the farmers

as becoming in the several branches of agriculture: stock-breeding, grain-growing, and wine-making—men who could stand alone, and who could do the Company's work with enough to content them.

The trouble was that the burghers' idea of what should content them differed from the Company's. The men sent to Holland (Husing, van der Bijl, and Pretorius—Meerland died on the way) to make their complaint against Willem Adriaan van der Stel achieved little besides patching up the immediate dispute. The whole episode profoundly irritated the Seventeen. No sooner had they returned than we find Seventeen writing:

"Our intention is . . . that the various colonists should have an honest livelihood and find a substance, without the necessity of any of them rising prominently above his fellows by the possession of more lands and chattels. The more an equality among them can be secured in an able manner the more it will please us."

In short, all the Company wanted was a body of hard-working peasants, their industry dedicated to the convenience of the Company.

Thus it was at the end of the first half-century. Though individual men were to prosper and the social scene considerably change we shall still hear the exasperated "Patriots" cry in 1784: "We and our children are destined to be slaves and beasts of burden!" They were the men of the border, the political descendants of Adam Tas and his friends who trumpeted their wrongs at the period of transition which saw the infant colony bursting its early boundaries.

As the following essays will reveal, their wrongs were by no means all to be set at the door of the Governor, Willem Adriaan van der Stel. So much of the difficulty to which Tas gives voice lay in the history of the past, in ordinances not of van der Stel's conception, and so little was government to be amended in the future that the same difficulties would crop up. To the end of the chapter Company's servants would make money by private trading in some form or another, and the farmers battle with the Company for a fair market and less restrictive laws.

RESUMÉ OF INSTRUCTIONS LEFT BY JOHANN VAN
RIEBEECK FOR HIS SUCCESSOR, WAGENAER, 1662.
(Compiled from the English translation by H. C. V. Leibbrandt,
Letters Despatched Vol. 3, p. 235 seq.)

Van Riebeeck reminds his successor that the Company's object in founding the Cape station was in order to provide easily accessible water and an adequate supply of refreshment for passing ships.

Of corn, he remarks that as far as selling for the ships is concerned he does not expect that the freemen will grow sufficient. On the contrary, the Company, much against its will, is obliged to help the farmers. They are served with corn, rice, and flour taken out of the ships. The allowance is 50 lbs. per head a month of corn, meal, or rice, including children and slaves. Sometimes the farmers may be able to sell a little of their corn to the Company in order to lessen their debts. They are "bound" to deliver to the Company what they do not require for their own sustenance, also any surplus of sheep and cattle, though to this "they are not pressed". Much, however, is clandestinely sold to the ships.

Of vines he says that "hundreds of vineyards might annually be granted, though few pay any attention to them [vines], hence they produced but little".

Every freeman had been provided with 12 oxen for ploughing; six to twelve cows, and 25 breeding sheep on credit as breeding stock. If the Company was short of meat for the ships it took over their dry cows for slaughter and gave them others in calf.

In August 1661 the Directorate had ordered that no more men were to be given letters of freedom. Little more cornland was available within the settlement, and to extend the settlement was too expensive. "None the less, many will ask you for those plots [the few left available] as they have asked us, but their only object is not the raising of corn, but to lie there in the passage of the Hottentots and barter cattle from the latter in a clandestine manner."

Follows a long description of the aborigines. Van Riebeeck describes his native policy as "always to put our people in the wrong". This was necessary in order to placate the Hottentots, because "in case of estrangement you will not keep one Hottentot here". He tells of the palisade which he has erected round the settlement, and of the post and gate, "Keert de Koe", which he designed to prevent the Hottentots from raiding the freemen's

cattle. An outer hedge of wild almond has been planted to include in the settlement "much more" pasturage. He complains that the freemen rob the Hottentots of their cattle, and that they "will cause the prices to become exceedingly high as the result of their ugly transactions".

He gives warning against the burning of grass to the ruin of the lands. He advises that no more cornland be granted, or the animals will go hungry for lack of pasture. No corn will grow in the Table valley; it is too stony and too windy. There was still some land round about the Bosheuvel [Wynberg area] suitable for corn.

Of stock the Company had in hand at the moment: 278 old and young cattle; 489 sheep on the mainland and 170 on Robben island [Robben Island pasturage was exhausted by the end of the century]; 300 pigs; 7 goats and kids. To this number the Saldanha Hottentots constantly added. He was expecting that during the dry season Hottentots other than the Saldanhas would bring down great quantities from the interior, probably more than could properly be pastured. [Van Riebeeck was ever an optimist.]

The tally of the freemen's cattle was as follows: 300 head of cattle; more than 800 sheep; 100 pigs.

The Company had bred 43 horses.

One end of Robben Island was stocked with rabbits, but they were attacked by the snakes. The Directorate had ordered that rabbits should not be introduced upon the mainland.

There should be kept in stock a large supply of tobacco for the purposes of barter with the Hottentots. They crave for it, as well as for Spanish wine and brandy. Requisition rather for Batavian aniseed arrack, as it is less fiery. The Hottentots, when they come to barter, are accustomed to be treated with a stomachful of rice and bread. Other goods necessary for barter were sheet copper, copper wire, and beads. These will be found in the Company's warehouse.

The freemen and their Dutch "knechts" (farm-hands) have been trained into a military company under their own officers on the model of the garrison. Their senior officer holds the rank of sergeant. There are three corporals and a drummer.

When cases concerning burghers come before the Court the two burgher councillors, who are nominated annually, sit with the Council of Policy. The Council of Policy sits once a fortnight on Saturday, to consider burgher cases.

There are 120 Company's servants upon the station. They are employed as soldiers, agricultural labourers, gardeners, smiths, masons, and mount guard on the posts in the country.

Follows information about ships' signals and secret codes.

On Dassen Island the industry of burning oil is carried on by freemen. Batavia requires it for her tanneries.

The Directorate also requires that many young ostriches shall be tamed for transmission to Batavia. [Where they were made use of as gifts to native princes.]

There is a red and yellow pigment "of which there is an abundance here" which should be collected. The Directorate has been informed about it and may want it.

When the masses of cattle which he expects arrive a trade may be done in skins.

In order to avoid quarrels which arise among the freemen about boundaries he suggests that they should be required to surround each property, according to the boundary lines of the title deeds, with a deeply ploughed furrow or an embankment. It is hopeless to depend upon beacons. The freemen pull them up and throw them about, and will make no effort among themselves to remedy this evil. [Tas in his diary writes of part of his embankment as having been washed away.]

Company's servants receive, as in India, board-money and rations, as well as supper in the evening and a tot of brandy in the morning. The latter helps when the weather is cold, as the men have all to keep watch and work successively.

Of timber, he states that the freeman Leendert Cornelisz of Zevenhuijsen had rendered great service to the Company in providing planks for building houses and for every other necessary purpose. [This man was the freeman sawyer.]

Van Riebeeck adds that it will no longer be necessary to requisition timber from the Fatherland. [This statement was precipitate.]

A jetty had been built for watering the ships, but it should be lengthened, as at low tide the larger ships-boats could hardly reach it.

He writes enthusiastically of his farm on the Bosheuvel [which he wishes to sell to the Company]. Great numbers of olive trees have been planted there, among much else, in response to the Directorate's demand that olive trees should be cultivated. He anticipates splendid results. [These were not to materialise.]

Finally the following:

"The slaves here learn nothing but Dutch, and so do the Hottentots, so that no other language is spoken here, and if this should remain the rule it will be a fine thing to let the Portuguese and others stand dumb before the natives. . . ."

"Herry and Doman generally stay about the fort as interpreters." Herry "nominally" for the Tobacco Thieves [Chorachouquas] and Doman for the Capeman. Van Riebeeck does not imagine that Hottentots will attempt further trouble now that the stock of horses is increasing. [Hottentots feared the horse.] The interpretress, Eva, is "kept on and entertained here. We have also explained it to you verbally. She is mainly employed in our intercourse with the Saldanhas."

EXTRACTS FROM THE INSTRUCTIONS LEFT BY SIMON VAN DER STEL FOR HIS SON.

The Instructions will be found printed in the original Hollands by Mr. Graham Botha in his book "Collectanea", published by the Van Riebeeck Society. An English translation of the full text by Leibbrandt is printed in the Letters Despatched, Van Riebeeck Society.

"The farmers are more inclined to cultivate the vine than to grow corn, the reason being that very many of the inhabitants are given to immoderate consumption of wine, so much so that they neglect the whole of their lands. They exhaust the land, slaughter their cattle, and bring their families year by year to want, for which reason it is also necessary that the Colonists be strictly charged and commanded, and also supervised so that they may not wholly exhaust their lands. . . .

They leave their land and move on, saying that they have not enough cattle to make dung to grow corn."

The old Governor advises his son that if he encourages that idea the whole of Africa will not be room enough for them. They are for ever moving out among the Hottentots, making barter their living. It will also be necessary, he says, to watch closely that the farmers who have lands along the Berg and other rivers, which is the best land, dig ditches round their property and keep the river courses clean, as he himself had many times pointed out to them. By neglect of this the water can make no headway, and in the rainy season the water can only rise high and it floods whole corn-fields, and the seed is washed away. The least it does is to cover the fields with sand, so that little harvest can be expected. Consequently, these lands become as exhausted as the others.

He advises that old Company's servants of steady behaviour should, if they are disposed to it, be given their freedom in order to apply themselves to the good lands and offer a helping hand. In this way other Company's servants might be encouraged to follow their example, and in course of time other respectable people, both from the Fatherland and from India, might be enticed to take it up. He would like to see two thousand of such able-bodied men brought here. They would, besides, be a sufficient guard against any possible attacks by foreign princes. He would like to get rid of the sort of men who ask for their freedom under the pretext of wishing to apply themselves to agriculture, and then wander from one farmer to the other, vagabonding, making themselves of use to ill-disposed farmers, and allowing themselves to be used in the

strictly forbidden cattle barter: whereby they rob the Company of its principal aim in this place. They undersell the Company by giving more for the cattle than the Company is used to do, and influence the natives against the Company, consequently there is danger that the ships will not be properly supplied.

Another reason why the farmers should not neglect their cornlands is that they pay, or ought to pay, their debts to the Company in corn. A further danger of illicit barter is that the Company in two or three years will not get enough cattle to help on the good colonists. Another objection to the burghers' going off into the veld was that they took a number of waggons with them which were needed for ordinary work, and for riding fuel for the ships, etc.

The burghers must be able to show their papers of freedom if called upon, especially the bachelors. The rascals and vagabonds must be discovered and prevented, and the good inhabitants made rid of them and allowed to rest in peace.

Further, van der Stel advises his son to have a care what type of Company's servant he releases. The man should be of the Dutch Reformed Church, or of the German nation, which does no traffic by sea. If this Colony is multiplied by other nations, each group attached to its own nationality, there is danger that all our efforts to prevent such a contingency will be fruitless. The French nation, though already settled here, and well received, are the least to be trusted.

Advice follows upon the planting of oak trees: bad to plant them on the flats and the veld, but good on Table Mountain in black soil. Plant in winter. For some years he has encouraged the freemen of Stellenbosch and Drakenstein to plant trees, but they plant them in poor soil. When burghers cut fuel they must be made to load up the stumps, in order to give proof that they have taken them out, and have thus also disturbed the soil so that seed has a chance of taking root.

Follow directions about the Company's servants' routes when cattle bartering—generally via Hottentots Holland Pass, and of the three routes back to the Castle.

Company's cattle herds must not graze their cattle near that of the freemen. There is too much temptation to the freemen and the herdsmen to make exchanges between good and bad cattle, to the detriment of the Company's herds. Nor should the freemen be allowed to pasture in the vicinity of the Company's grazing. Farmers may not be allowed to outspan at the Company's posts, as their beasts consume the Company's grazing. He warns his son that the Hottentots' cattle is diminishing. The aborigines fight and rob amongst themselves. It is well to encourage them to bring their differences to the Governor to settle.

The freemen's cattle is increasing. The time should come when the Company should be able to buy from them, and break up the Company's cattle posts.

The licensed butchers behave badly in spite of the arrangement made by the Heer van Mijdtregt when he was here. Under the pretext of not having enough sheep to slaughter they lay off slaughter for four or five months, and then for a short time slaughter again, all sorts of good and bad meat, and scabby sheep, which brings sickness. Plakkaats up to now have had little effect. His son will have to enforce inspection if ships, garrison, and hospital are to be properly served.

When growing forage for horses care should be taken that weeds do not get into the cornfields.

Whereas there are free people who arrive here poor, being no agriculturalists, and simply by barter and usury and exhausting the agricultural effort, with no other aim than to become rich quickly and then to rush back to the Fatherland—such people should be made to pay an exit tax in proportion to their capital.

Finally, the old Governor advises his son to maintain the Burgher Watch outside the Castle. The discipline is necessary for the burghers in case of war.

COMMANDERS OF THE CAPE STATION, 1652-1707.

| | | | | | |
|------------------------|----|----|------------|---|------------|
| Johann van Riebeeck | .. | .. | April 1652 | — | May 1662 |
| Zacharias Wagenaer | .. | .. | May 1662 | — | Sept. 1666 |
| Cornelis van Quaelberg | .. | .. | Dec. 1666 | — | June 1668 |
| Jacob Borghorst | .. | .. | June 1668 | — | March 1670 |
| Pieter Hackius | .. | .. | March 1670 | — | Nov. 1671 |

Interim until the following March during which period the station administered by Council. Appointed as Acting Commander in March:

| | | | | | |
|-----------------------------|----|----|------------|---|------------|
| Albert van Breugel | .. | .. | March 1672 | — | Oct. 1672 |
| Isbrand Goske | .. | .. | Oct. 1672 | — | March 1676 |
| Johan Bax van Herentals | .. | .. | March 1676 | — | June 1678 |
| Acting: Hendrik Crudop | .. | .. | June 1678 | — | Oct. 1679 |
| Simon van der Stel | .. | .. | Oct. 1679 | — | Feb. 1699 |
| Willem Adriaan van der Stel | .. | .. | Feb. 1699 | — | June 1707 |

THE PLAKKAATEN

A plakkaat is a placard, in this instance inscribed with a proclamation of law. Whenever a new regulation was promulgated by the Government in the little settlement of the Cape a plakkaat announcing the fact appeared and was exposed to public notice at the Castle, upon the church doors, and at any other spot suitable for the purpose. The Castle bell was rung, and people within sound of it assembled in the courtyard to have the plakkaat read out to them. Annually a "Generaal Plakkaat" was proclaimed which summarised the whole body of laws and regulations as they obtained to date.

I have chosen the "Generaal Plakkaat" for the year 1704. I have chosen it because it was the "Generaal Plakkaat" which appeared prior to the first date of Tas's diary.

Before we pass to the plakkaaten themselves we must have some account of administration.

The High Court of Justice was the Council of Policy *in toto* administering as a Court. In earlier years the Commander of the station acted as president of the Court. Later on it was customary for the commander of the garrison or the Secunde to take the chair. The Governor was then required only to confirm with his signature sentences of corporal and capital punishment. The Fiscal served as Prosecutor, and the secretary of the Council of Policy performed his same office for the Court of Justice.

The Court tried not only local offenders, but also offenders in the fleets whose offence had been committed south of the Line.

When burgher cases were tried two burgher councillors sat as magistrates. This privilege was granted with the first grants of land by the Commissioner the Governor-General of Netherlands India, Ryklof van Goens, in 1657, when the first burgher councillor was appointed. In the second year a second man was appointed, and the first retained office. Thereafter, the man who had served two years retired, and his place was filled for a two-year term by a fresh nominee. From 1661 a special session once a fortnight was devoted to burgher cases.

In 1682 a Court of Petty Cases was established to relieve the High Court of Justice. It tried civil cases involving not more than a sum of £20. It consisted of four members: two Company's servants and two burgher councillors. The first two burgher councillors to serve this court were Elbert Diemer and Willem van Dieden.

In August of the same year Simon van der Stel appointed four burgher councillors for the district of Stellenbosch. Difficulties were arising about boundaries, waggon tracks, and so forth. He chose the four "civielste" or most responsible men of the community: Gerrit Pietersz van der Bijl (father of Pieter van der Bijl of Tas's diary), Henning Husing, Hendrik Elberts, and Hans Jurgen Grimp (Mrs. Adam Tas's first husband). Their duties were the same as those of the burgher councillors of the Cape. As magistrates they might dispose of civil cases to the value of £2 1s. 8d., and might try cases to the value of £10, referring judgment to the higher Court of Petty Cases. Other than the limited magisterial duties described above the duties of burgher councillors were what we would now describe as municipal. They were required to collect an annual tax from the farmers of 2d. upon every 100 sheep, and of 3d. upon every 20 head of cattle, for the benefit of their district. For the support of the Church and the burial ground 10s. was levied at death, and 5s. charged for the grave. These moneys were paid into the burgher chest and were administered by the burgher councillors.

(In January 1703 the burgher councillors of Stellenbosch found themselves sufficiently in funds to order 24 cushions and 12 psalm-books for the Church officers, and a table, table-cloth, and 12 chairs.)

Fines for straying cattle also contributed to the burgher chest. If cattle were found straying outside the boundary of the district one-third of the fine went to the Company, one-third into the Landdrost's pocket, and one-third into the burgher chest.

In 1685 the Commissioner the Lord of Mydrecht established at Stellenbosch the office of Landdrost. The term is equivalent in English to sheriff, but one feels that the familiar "landdrost" should not be divorced from the South African scene.

The Landdrost was made president of the burgher council, and was directly responsible to the Government. His duties were not confined to burgher concerns. Company's servants in charge of outposts inland were placed under his supervision. He was given two men to assist him. It was the most responsible position a burgher ever held. The first burgher to hold it was Jan Mulder. His name is recalled in "Mulder's Vlei".

The office of Messenger of the High Court of Justice was not established at the Cape until July 1669, when Gerrit van der Bijl, who had arrived in the country a year or two before and was already a deacon of the church, applied to have such an office conferred upon him. He was appointed, and in the Journal recording

this event he is described as a "fine, suitable, and well-conducted man". The office commanded only the soldier's salary of £10 a month (16s. 8d.).

In 1686 a Messenger of the Court was appointed to Stellenbosch: Sibrandus Mankaden. In Willem Adriaan van der Stel's time Stellenbosch was unfortunate in her Messengers. The Messenger Dirk Symonsz in January 1704 lost his post because he allowed some captured runaway slaves to escape again. He declared there was no lock on the prison door. David Pannesmith was appointed in his place. "The long-sought David Pannesmith," as Tas describes him. Pannesmith absconded with burgher funds. He was one of the men who a couple of years before had also been found guilty of brutality when out bartering for cattle with the Hottentots: a pretty fair example of the type of man by whom the colony was pestered, and whom proclamation after proclamation sought to round up.

As executioners the High Court of Justice employed Asiatic convicts serving out their term at the Cape. They were familiarly dubbed "Kaffirs", which is those days simply described pagans, and was first used by the Portuguese of West Africans.

Mentzel tells us that in his time the executioners were armed with a belted iron sword and a heavy club called a *palang*. They wore a grey uniform, the coat short with blue lapels. As Adam Tas so much objects to the sword which his Uncle Husing sends him as being comparable "to a Kaffir's side-arms" we gather that Mentzel's description would also apply to the previous generation. (Mentzel was writing of the 'thirties.)

Of convicts in general it is necessary to say a word. Tas in his diary states that black men who were ex-convicts were among the signatories of the van der Stel Counter-petition. It is true that some half a dozen black freemen (out of a total of 240 signatories) set their names to this petition, but whether or not any of them had at one time served as convicts they now enjoyed the same civic privileges as any other burgher, or any other released prisoner.

Black freemen might be emancipated slaves; men deported from the Company's Eastern possessions as prisoners of war, or because they were a nuisance politically to the Company; or they might be sons of men so deported.

For the rest, the Cape station had, since its establishment, been used as a dumping-ground for malefactors and political undesirables from its Eastern possessions. Some of them were punished simply by banishment to the Cape, where they were

turned loose to earn their living as ordinary freemen on farms or in trades.

In 1706 we find the Governor in Council writing in a despatch to Batavia: "Please let us know whether they [black prisoners brought by the Return Fleet] are to serve as convicts or earn their living as freemen". In May of the same year we have in another despatch to Batavia *vide* a comment upon time-expired men of this kind: "We should very much like to see these people return whence they came . . . as we are already provided with a large number of this class of people from whom no good is derived".

The protest should have come earlier, though indeed it had little effect. In van Riebeeck's time every pair of hands mattered so much that we find in a despatch of his to Batavia in 1658: "As the black and Indian convicts sent by you can only be kept at work by force we have released them and permitted them to earn a living by cultivating produce for their own food, as well as fishing, with the condition that they sell the surplus to the Company and not to private individuals. Should you agree to this, and if many more of the black nation be sent to us in this manner, the more knowledge they have of cultivation and fisheries the better".

In 1694 the Council of India sent over the first of her high-ranking political prisoners: the tragic Sheik Yussuf of Macassar. He was allowed to bring an entourage of wives and attendants, and the whole affair cost the Company a pretty penny. "They and others of their kind", wrote Simon van der Stel to Batavia after the death of the Sheik in May 1699, "have cost this Government . . . f26,221-12-12 . . . we beg . . . we may in future be released from such people".

Sheik Yussuf's tomb at Faure is still an object of pilgrimage to devout Mohammedans at the Cape. Actually, it is doubtful whether his body was ever inside it. He was buried in the sand dunes of the Rev. Petrus Kalden's farm "Zandvliet", near the mouth of the Lourens River. Those of his entourage who wished to return to the East were permitted to do so, and his wives (his principal wife was Caracanta, daughter of the King of Bantam) wished to carry the body with them. The story goes that Simon van der Stel told his officials to turn a blind eye if the body were disinterred. Many of the entourage remained behind, having married or made friends at the Cape. In the Constantia Valley there is another shrine consecrated to old Mohammedan political exiles, set up in comparatively recent years, and bearing a dignified inscription which is translated into Dutch. A number of such

political exiles lived in the valley, and there are one or two smaller shrines as well.

Until the later years of Simon van der Stel's period of office no necessity was found to appoint a constabulary. The Fiscal, with the assistance of a posse of men or with his "kaffirs", dealt with incidents as they occurred. By September 1686 the place had grown; slaves were an increasing menace; the danger of disorder at night exercised the Governor's mind. So it was that Cape Town got its first Nightwatchmen—the Ratelwag (Rattle-Watch). Three men took turns to patrol the town at night, calling the hours at the street corners and rattling their rattles. Their wages were found by a levy of 1s. a month upon each household. They went into action for the first time on Old Year's Night 1687.

In January 1693 Simon van der Stel established a more important institution—the Veldwachters, or Field-Cornets. Like the Landdrosts, they were to become an inseparable part of the South African scene.

Adam Tas has no good word to say of them. They represented too much activity in the country districts. In the Plakkaat which the Governor issued proclaiming this innovation he explains what moved him to do so:

"His Excellency the Governor in Council has been made acquainted with the frequent instances of smuggling and illicit trading on the part of the inhabitants of the Cape, as well as in the country at Stellenbosch and Drakenstein and elsewhere with the transport and underhand disposal of their corn and wine, as also in the chopping of all kinds of fuel and timber, and, according to belief, the going out to hunt all kinds of large and small game.

Thus, after ripe consideration, it is found good in order to prevent all the evils which might arise from such deviation and nastiness, and to give the most service to the Honourable Company and to the public, to appoint two persons of proved trust and ability, on oath, as Veldwachters, holding the rank of corporals, at 16 gulden (£1 6s. 8d.) a month salary, to watch over all, and to fine the offenders against plakkaaten and ordinances without respect of persons, and to make known their offence to the officer in charge. Those who apprehend anyone shall enjoy half the fine. . . ."

The Governor cites as further offences the damage and removal of boundary posts; messing up the street with garbage heaps outside the doors, and so forth.

2

Punishments were so violent in those days that some of them are indescribable. At the Cape the extreme of torture and violent death were for the most part reserved for slaves. The European less often suffered capital punishment, though any punishment other than a fine could be very violent.

The interest of the fact today is psychological. If savage punishment, in the very real meaning of that description, either reformed the offender, or deterred others from committing similar crimes, the Cape station should have been a model community.

It is worth while to recollect some observations which were made upon this subject by officials at the Cape and by the Directors of the Dutch East India Company. Military discipline was, as elsewhere, more severe for lesser crime than the punishment meted out to civilians. For assault, if the offender were a slave, the place of execution became a shambles. At the Cape and probably upon other stations much depended upon the judgment of the Commander or Governor. In 1671 we have a Commander (Borghorst) who, when a European was convicted of murder, had him "after he had prepared himself in a Christian manner" simply taken out and shot; "after which he was coffined and buried at the side of his victim". One wonders, if such decent justice were possible at the hand of one Commander, why the example was not more generally emulated. The Journal of this year remarks: "A deplorable thing that this little place is subject to so many wanton sins".

Borghorst's successor was Isbrand Goske, and in the Journal of 1673 he makes the following observation after the Court has passed sentence upon some deserters:

"It is sad that such rigorous punishments have to be applied here, and that people are not deterred from crime by examples meted out to others."

During the following month two men, for sleeping on watch, were sentenced to be strappadoed, expelled from the garrison, and to serve as convicts for three years. They were fortunate to escape with their lives. An entry on January 1674 lets in some light upon that subject. Two more men were punished for the same thing, and were condemned to ride the wooden horse for two days with a 12lb. weight on each leg. "Though at present we are living in such times [Holland at war]", reads the Journal, "that military discipline should be maintained . . . many irregularities such as sleeping when on sentry duty . . . have

often to be winked at, because the men of the garrison are continually kept at work during the day [labouring on the Company's land and pastures and works] and are not excused from mounting guard during the night".

It was not always men, and soldiers, upon whom violent punishment might fall. In 1673 a certain Maijke van den Berg (maiden name), widow of a burgher who had shewn her no good example, was convicted, in company with her knecht, of stealing two head of Hottentot cattle and of being a smuggler. She was sentenced to be tethered to a post with an ox-hide over her head at the place of execution, to be scourged, branded, her property confiscated, and herself banished for twelve years to Robben Island. The knecht received the same sentence.

Both of them had the chance of a reprieve. Maijke thus: "Through the intercession of the most respectable women, and the most pitiful prayers of her young children", she was committed to imprisonment in her own house, with a suspended sentence.

In less than two months, again at the intercession of the other women (there were between forty and fifty in the settlement at the time), she was released on bail. She repeated her offence. In little more than a month's time the Fiscal reported her again, and her knecht with her. The sentence was carried out. "To serve", as the Court of Justice recorded, "as an example, so that this hateful, injurious and thievish propensity may once for all be eradicated from their [the freemen's] infamous bosoms. In this, some of the inhabitants, Yea! even those most rich in cattle are suspected as accomplices. The evil has long crept in in such a manner that no longer is it made a matter of conscience to appropriate cattle that have strayed away from the troop and wandered into another—when their throats are cut".

A plakkaat issued in 1670 had already revealed the existence of such a state of affairs, but the very severe warning which the sentence in the van den Berg case was intended to convey appears not to have had much success. In 1677 another plakkaat appeared complaining of the same conditions.

In 1674 a woman who was a "notorious" gossip-monger was condemned for slandering another woman. She was sentenced to stand for an hour with a paper labelled "Backbiter" pinned to her breast and to be imprisoned in her own house for six months.

In later years one governor, I think it was old "Father Tulbagh", threatened a woman with a thrashing if she continued obstinate in her refusal to send her children to school.

As time went on the Court of Justice at the Cape continued to administer heavy-handed justice. Theft was not as a rule punished with death as it might have been, but the idea that terrifying and violent punishment which left ineffaceable marks of disgrace was a deterrent to others appears to have been the ruling principle of justice.

In 1706 a soldier who stole some clothes was sentenced to be whipped, to stand under the gallows with a rope around his neck, and to serve for ten years on Robben Island. Another soldier was whipped and sentenced to two years' imprisonment for stealing beans. A burgher cattle-thief was whipped, branded, and banished to Mauritius to earn his living there. Three Hottentots were given fifty blows for "suspected" cattle theft. In 1708 a slave was hanged and his body rehung for breaking into Adam Tas's shed. Compare this with a sentence merely of banishment upon two Europeans who in 1707 had murdered a Hottentot. Certainly, the Journal records the murder as "a wicked and tyrannous deed—though committed upon a Hottentot", but that was all that happened.

In August 1708 we have the grim entry in the Journal: "The Landdrost and deputies from the Court of Justice busy this morning in the torture room". Torture was not confined at this date to the Cape, but the Cape, served by no professional men of the Law who might have modified her usage, or the Company's usage, retained the most violent methods of correction to the end of the Company's rule. It cannot be said that the Directorate of the Company gave opinion which might have sobered sentences in general. Here is the opinion of the Directorate received at the Cape through the Council of India at the beginning of the 18th century. The Court of Justice in Bengal had passed sentence upon some deserters, a comparatively merciful sentence, the Court's idea being that mercy might have a better effect in persuading other deserters to return. The Directors are heavily displeased and write to the Governor-General and the High Council of India as follows:

"Though our rule is not to give any reason for our orders, or to meet any objections raised against them, we will in this case say that all the reasons given [for clemency] express that . . . indulgence may cause . . . deserters more readily to return, but do not possess the power to prevent the evil. . . .

Regarding [the statement] that experience taught them [members of the Court] that since capital punishment had been inflicted by the Lord of Mydrecht (1685) . . . the evil had not diminished, but rather increased. We will not deny that this has been the case, but it will be impossible to shew that the punishment was the cause of it; on the contrary, it is plain that by abandoning it and applying weaker remedies the evil has assumed such large dimensions. If his orders had been obeyed the desertion would most likely have been prevented, as the people in this evil world (God better it) are so constituted that they are kept from crime, more, yea, almost entirely, by the fear of punishment, and by no means through love of that which is good."

A grim Calvinistic pronouncement!

In 1729 a burgher was scourged, clamped in chains for five years, and half his property confiscated for harbouring and employing a deserter. Yet in the meantime (1714) the Cape Journal makes the following observation:

"If we bear in mind the heavy punishments now lately and successively inflicted upon criminals it seems that crime is rapidly assuming large dimensions in spite of the means used to prevent and suppress it."

None the less, torture, breaking on the wheel, and all the other judicial obscenities remained until the Company ceased to rule at the Cape. The Commissary de Mist, in his report upon conditions at the Cape prepared for the Government of the States General in 1803, commented as follows upon the Court of Justice:

"A Council of Justice with no instructions except as regards the number, rank, and salaries of its members . . . a picture of the miserable state into which justice and its administration has fallen in the Colony, and in this disgraceful condition it remained up to the time of the capitulation to the English."

He advocated a complete reform and the appointment of an Attorney-General "fully qualified in law".

AGRICULTURE AND STOCK

Nobody shall dig up his orchard without permit.

Nobody shall cut or press grapes before the same have been inspected by the Commissioners, or at least obtained H.E. the Governor's consent.
(The freemen were apt to press unmatured grapes, thereby producing more, but bad wine.)

Those who break in foals or use them in any way before the same are three years old shall be fined . . . as also he who gelds his stallion without permission from H.E. the Governor.

No one shall slaughter the least of lambs during the months of May, June, and up to the 15th July . . . nor shall any ewes be mated from the end of June to the end of November.

All Company's servants appointed as shepherds to the Company's sheep shall be bound instantly to warn the landdrost, or overseer under whom they serve, when a sheep in their charge becomes infected with scab or any other infectious disease. Every Company's servant loaned to a freeman and grazing his sheep, or a free servant appointed to herd his master's sheep, is bound within three days to warn the master he serves as soon as he observes scab in the sheep entrusted to him, so that they may cut the throats of such sheep to prevent further infection.

Nobody may herd strange cattle with his own.

(Van Riebeeck issued this edict in 1658 preceded by the words: "Regarding sheep theft. . .")

Anyone found possessing sheep with clipped ears shall forfeit the same. . . .
(The Company's mark was V clipped out of the ear.)

The freemen settled at Stellenbosch and Drakenstein shall have their cattle which has been turned out to graze in the veld brought home at night.
(Simon van der Stel issued this edict because men were straying beyond the bounds of the colony, leading gypsy lives, engaging in illicit barter with the Hottentots, and carrying themselves out of call when required for military exercise. To cross the boundary without a permit had always been forbidden.)

None of the inhabitants shall sell cattle to one another without a permit.

The inhabitants may not slaughter cattle amongst themselves, much less slaughter for any foreigner coming to land; nor sell living or slaughtered cattle to ships of the Fatherland without having previously obtained a permit.

(This edict dates from the earliest days of farming and was promulgated to protect the claims of the Company upon meat needed for the fleets, hospital, and garrison. When the time came to put out a meat contract to tender from the freemen it protected the rights of the monopoly. It also guarded against the distribution of diseased meat; against the immediate slaughter by the culprit of animals stolen or illicitly bartered; and against the reckless slaughter of animals needed for breeding.)

The supply of meat to the Company and to the public requires a special note. To supply it by contract to the Company as the monopoly of one or more men was an innovation which came into

being only towards the end of the first half-century. The meat contract was to become one of the most coveted of monopolies. Tas's diary reflects the earlier storms in connection with it.

Before van Riebeeck retired from office he gave permission to men who had doubled their flocks of sheep to kill for, and to sell to, their neighbours. The permission lent itself to abuse and had to be withdrawn. The prohibition remained until the Governor, Simon van der Stel (1679-1699) experimented with permission again.

For the supply of beasts to the Company he came to depend for some years entirely upon the bartering negotiations of a Chainouqua Hottentot headman, Dorha or "Claas", with his fellow Hottentots. (From 1672 van der Stel's predecessors had to some extent employed Claas.) The plan, however, produced quarrelling and jealousy between Claas and other Hottentot headmen, particularly between him and another Chainouqua, Kuijper. It ended in the ruin of Claas. He was married to the daughter of the chief of the Hessaquas, and this chief came to his support in his endeavours to rout Kuijper. There was also an accusation against Claas that he was in league with European illicit cattle dealers. The trouble grew so threatening that van der Stel sent out a commando against him. He was deprived of his herds to the benefit of Kuijper and the Company, and for a short time he was banished to Robben Island.

His disaffection had disturbed the steady and peaceful flow of cattle to the fort; garrison men had to be sent out again to barter, and the question of producing an unfailing meat supply at less expense had to be seriously considered.

For another thing, the permission given to the freemen to slaughter freely was not proving satisfactory. There was no guard against the sale of diseased meat and so forth. Van der Stel was obliged to forbid slaughter on private premises. He reorganised the market-place, and established a slaughter-house for the freemen where all meat sold in the Cape district had to be inspected and killed. To ensure a sufficient supply he also attempted to get freemen to supply the Company and the public under contract. Henning Husing, the grazier, and "Sieur" Willem van Dieden undertook it, but van Dieden shewed little interest, and Husing gave no better satisfaction, for he underpaid the farmers for their beasts.

However, in 1685 the Commissioner of that year, finding that none but Husing was in a position to supply meat under contract,

gave him the monopoly as purveyor for three years. People still complained of poor meat and of conduct too subject to his own interests, so they ignored his monopoly. The whole thing got out of hand and the contract lapsed.

The Directorate expressed anxiety that the meat supply should be assured, and pressed to be relieved by freemen enterprise of having to send garrison men out to barter with the Hottentots for slaughter cattle for the ships, etc. It was time the freemen took all this business off the hands of the Company.

When Willem Adriaan van der Stel took up office he was particularly instructed to establish a satisfactory arrangement. The farmers were to be allowed to barter freely with the Hottentots for cattle, and tenders were to be called for to contract for the supply of meat. The Governor was "to frame some plan whereby the contracting parties are to conduct themselves towards each other in such a way that on the one hand it may not prove too expensive to the colony, and on the other that the freemen by supplying good meat may also be benefited". In conclusion, the Directors left it to the Governor to do what he thought fit to bring about this end.

The Governor in Council called for tenders, and again Husing appeared as the only man in a position regularly to deliver supplies, or able to bring himself into that position if the contract were made sufficiently helpful and worth while. He was given the free use of the Company's slaughter-house and of the Company's grazing in the Groenekloof and a contract for ten years.

So long a term for a contract was not without precedent. In the past the Governor, Simon van der Stel, had given freemen sawyers a contract for ten years to supply timber to the Company. However, when the report of the transaction with Husing reached the Directorate it was disapproved. The Governor was instructed that no freeman should be permitted to hold a monopoly for so long, and thereby enjoy a prosperity above his fellows. The Governor must therefore endeavour to reduce the period of the contract. Husing was persuaded to relinquish half the term. His complaisance, no doubt, gave him some right to expect future favours. In 1705 the five-year contract was up.

Previous to this the Governor wrote to the Directorate and suggested that the market should become open, and that everyone who grazed cattle should be permitted to supply the Company. He proposed that he should act upon this suggestion if no contrary

order reached him. No order arrived before Husing's contract terminated. Something had to be done to comply with the existing order that the contract must cease.

The Governor in Council now arrived at the decision that four butchers should be appointed, and in order that all graziers should share in supplying the Company and the public these four men were prohibited from possessing slaughter cattle themselves. They were to purchase their supplies from the farmers. To prevent exploitation of price they were required to swear to engage in no partnership nor collusion amongst themselves, but each man was to act as an independent tradesman.

This new arrangement was the source of further criticisms on the part of the faction bent upon having the Governor recalled. Others viewed it differently. Husing had held for a long time a very valuable monopoly, and it caused irritation. Tas in his diary quotes wrathfully the cries of people upon the multitude of his uncle's cattle, and their wishes to see him anything but prosperous.

When Husing was in Holland, as one of the four men sent over by the petitioners to lay their grievances before the Directorate, the Directorate, in the interests of peace—"We only want to see the colony restored to peace," they said—gave him half the meat contract. He worked it in partnership with Michael Ley (one of the four earlier butchers) not without fusses. For years there were fusses about the meat contract.

WOOL

In the Generaal Plakkaat of 1704 there is no mention of wool, but under the heading of agriculture it should have mention, for the Governor issued several notices concerning it. It was now, indeed, when the almost still-born birth of this industry, so important to the Union today, took place.

Simon van der Stel, in August 1699, set about fulfilling the Directors' behest of the previous year to export Cape wool. He ordered the Landdrost of Stellenbosch to see that sheep were shorn at the proper time. In October he reminded the Landdrost again that the best time for collecting wool from the farmers of Stellenbosch and Drakenstein had now arrived. As much as possible was to be got together in order to ship it in the next return fleet. The Landdrost was henceforth to make it his business to encourage the farmers to produce wool. Simon then informed the Directorate that he had taken the necessary steps. He had encouraged "the well-disposed burghers to get together as much wool as possible".

He warns the Directorate that "the quantity will not be much at present as the freemen hitherto have given no attention to it, because it had never been required, and the sheep here do not produce heavy clips". Three samples of fleece reached the Directorate—one of a Hottentot sheep, one of a cross-bred, and one of a pure-bred Fatherland sheep; but no wool from the farmers.

Willem Adriaan van der Stel now takes up the tale. He received the despatch which tells him that the wool of the first sample "is worth next to nothing". The second appeared not to be up to much, either; the third was "fairly soft and serviceable".

Willem Adriaan caused enquiries to be made among the farmers about the matter. He finds, he writes in March 1700, that the farmers know nothing about wool sheep. There is no one who knows how to shear and there is not a proper pair of shears in the place. Sheeps' skins are thrown away as useless. [As a matter of fact, the colonists did use wool for stuffing mattresses and pillows.] He has managed with some indifferent tool to procure 285lbs. of wool "taken entirely from sheep belonging to the Company", and this he sends. He asks for shearers to be sent, "as nothing can be done without them". Fatherland sheep, he continues, do well and give good wool. He thinks Spanish sheep might repay importation, as the Directors themselves have suggested.

In September he ordered the Landdrost of the Stellenbosch district to affix notices to the church door "and to other customary places" announcing to the effect that people who had wool sheep were to shear them and "bring the wool in time for a reasonable price to the Company". "In time," that is, to ship in the fleet. The Landdrost was to "pay particular attention to this, as the Masters are much interested in the said wool".

Nothing happened. In March 1701 with the return fleet which should have carried the wool the Governor reported that the farmers had no pure wool sheep. They bred for slaughter. The cross-bred "was much larger than any others", and for slaughter their object was naturally to breed them as large as possible. They could send only mixed wool in any event, but as a matter of fact they showed "no inclination whatever to attend to it". He thinks there is little prospect of success in pursuing the idea of exporting wool. ♥

The farmers had several good reasons for their reluctance. None of them understood the job; they saw no profit in it comparable with breeding slaughter sheep; the sheep were kraaled (penned) in the open and were unused to being shorn. They

might suffer from cold. If they were cut in the process of shearing they would be pestered by insects. . . .

Willem Adriaan now did a thing which was to cause him a deal of trouble later on, for it was one of his actions turned against him when the sixty-three farmers signed the petition against him. He decided to have a shot at wool-sheep breeding himself. For this purpose he sent round to a number of farmers requesting them to lend him any suitable wool-sheep which might survive among their flocks. The sheep would be returned whenever the owners asked for them, or replaced by an equal number of sheep, or be paid for according to the market value of sheep (i.e., the price paid by the Company). He gave this request in writing, with its conditions, to two men—a soldier, Nicolaas Visser, and a field-cornet, Jacob du Preez (correctly spelt du Pré; he was a Huguenot)—and they were instructed to give a receipt for any sheep handed over to them. In Willem Adriaan's "Defence" will be found the sworn affidavit of these two men that this was so.

The request was met by more than ordinary kindness, for several farmers went out of their way to oblige the Governor. Some waived aside the necessity for a receipt. Out of a large flock the loan of a bunch of the smallest animals, such as the Dutch sheep by comparison were, was no great matter. Husing, however, appears to have supplied a considerable number.

In the event, and by the time the Governor got into trouble, he was still experimenting and no one had come to ask for sheep or payment. It was then that men in the faction against him accused him of stealing the sheep under pretext of breeding with them.

In April 1703 the Governor writes to the Directorate that he is sending a small bale of wool "collected with great trouble from the remnant of sheep descended from European stock". If the Directorate likes it, he promises, he will continue to encourage people to shear, though they will not be persuaded to do so under 8d. per lb. He sees a prospect, by careful breeding from the few good sheep, of providing in course of time an abundant supply of the type of wool he now sends.

This wool fetched 1s. 2d. per lb. (approximately) in Holland, and in May 1704 the Governor expresses himself as encouraged by this report, "though we have a great deal of trouble with some of the chief among the freemen, who are rather headstrong and self-willed and not easily brought to the idea of breeding and keeping sheep having good and serviceable wool". He is certain that the breed will improve if cross-breeding is prevented or prohibited.

In August 1704 he wrote to Batavia to ask for Persian sheep, and in January 1705 he hears from the India Council there that the sheep are to come, though the Council has no great hopes of success, remarking with geographical irrelevancy that Persian sheep do not do well in Batavia.

By the following March the Governor has heard that the last batch of wool fetched 1s. 2d. per lb. in Holland. The Directorate has instructed him to take at 8d. per lb. all he can get from the farmers. His hopes are dashed by the results of free barter. Thousands of Hottentot sheep have streamed into the farmers' flocks. There is a "greater mixture than ever after all the bartering", and half-bred sheep produce hair, not wool. Sheep owners, "in spite of the admonitions of the Governor . . . could not be persuaded to breed wool-sheep for shearing . . . some being animated by the wrong zeal, and others inclined to a lazy and do-nothing life . . .". "We therefore," he writes, "request you to order the people by plakkaat to breed wool-sheep and get rid of the bastard rams . . . This will enable us annually to send to Holland for a fair price a good quantity of fine wool—a thing now impossible. We have, however, done our best to collect 114lbs. Cost price, f57." (It fetched approximately 2s. per lb. in Holland.) He begs again for Spanish sheep.

After Willem Adriaan van der Stel had been recalled the Persian sheep arrived—in May 1708. Ten had been shipped, via Ceylon, and five of them survived. In August of that year his successor wrote to the Directorate that the farmers were unwilling to take up the matter. Their sheep were so crossed that it would be necessary "to obtain quite new stock which must be kept separate". He adds that it is "not very probable that this will be done unless the people are ordered to do so by advertisement" (proclamation).

So it was that Willem Adriaan van der Stel sought to do what Willem Stephanus van Reynevelt and others, who were the fathers of the wool industry, would have to do at the beginning of the 19th century.

[Of Spanish sheep there is an interesting little note in Daniel Defoe's "Tour of England and Wales". We recollect that Defoe was a contemporary of Willem Adriaan van der Stel, though these particular volumes, with their fascinating picture of early 18th-century Britain, did not appear until 1724-6. He writes of the celebrated Cotswold flocks: "Fame tells us that some were sent by King Richard I into Spain, and that from thence the breed of their sheep was raised, which now produce so fine a wool, that we are oblig'd to fetch it from thence, for the making of our finest broad cloaths".]

POPULATION

Every year the Cape Government took a census of the freeman population; of what they owned and what they produced, and sent it by the return fleet to Holland.

As an appendix to these notes upon agriculture the following census figures may be set down here, as the great majority of freemen were farmers. They must be taken as approximate, especially the figures concerning stock and produce. As Tas's diary reveals, the farmer paid tithes and his returns could not be relied upon as exact. The figures, however, give some idea of the size and growth of the colony during the first half-century.

When van Riebeeck left after ten years of office and five years of freeman farming, the figures were as follows: 39 freemen, with 15 wives and 22 children. They owned of stock a certain amount of draught cattle, rather more than 800 sheep, and 100 pigs. No horses. (The Company owned 40-odd.) They employed 54 unmarried men as knechts, or European labourers.

In 1679, when Simon van der Stel came into office there were: 87 freemen, with 55 wives and 117 children; 30 knechts. The freemen owned now 133 male slaves, 38 female, and 20 slave children.

In 1699, when Simon van der Stel retired from office, there were: 414 freemen, with 207 wives and 521 children. (Number of knechts not given.) They possessed 536 men slaves, 84 female, and 57 children; 572 horses, 7,604 head of cattle (including calves and heifers), 265 pigs, 46,065 sheep, 1,654,100 vines. In that year they planted 689½ muids of wheat and reaped 4,226 muids; 250 muids of rye and reaped 1,633 muids; 38½ muids of barley and reaped 374 muids.

In 1707, when Willem Adriaan van der Stel left, fifty years after the first freemen settled on the land, there were: 513 freemen, 290 freewomen, and 848 children; 128 knechts. They possessed 841 male slaves, 149 female, 117 children. 12,671 head of cattle, 79,314 sheep, 159 pigs (never popular), 1,895,600 vines, and produced 1,356 leaguers of wine. They planted 769 muids of wheat and reaped 6,059; of rye 291½ and reaped 2,536; of barley 50½ and reaped 549. (All this must be regarded as the lowest possible estimate of stock and produce which the Commissioners would accept.)

The most striking point about these figures, apart from their general paucity, is the discrepancy between the numbers of men and women. After half a century we find a community of freemen numbering 513, plus 128 bachelors living in the freemen's homes: 641 men to 290 women.

BARTER

Miss Jeffreys states that the following plakkaat, which suspended the privilege of free barter for stock with the Hottentots, was a subsequent insertion, probably 1705, into the text of the Generaal Plakkaat dated 1704:

None of the free inhabitants shall take upon himself to barter for any cattle from the Hottentots during the time of the suspension [of permission so to do] until further orders in regard to it shall have arrived from the Directorate. . . . Being in pursuance of and in conformity with the special proclamation of February 1700 and the restrictions contained therein, whereby all and everyone of the free inhabitants under the subjecty of the Dutch East India Company . . . might be permitted to trade and barter with all the surrounding Hottentot people . . . provided that should the Hottentots be disinclined to barter no one should venture to constrain them by pushing, hitting, and other ill-treatment, nor take their cattle by force, neither cause such to be done.

In brief, the history of the vexed question whether barter with the Hottentots should be permitted to freemen is as follows:

Van Riebeeck forbade barter from 1652, fearing all the consequences which so surely made their appearance, and also determining that barter with the Hottentots of whatever kind should be the monopoly of the Company in order that no source of profit should be minimised.

In 1657, when land was first granted to freemen, the Commissioner the Governor-General of Netherlands India, Rykloff van Goens, ordered that the freemen should be allowed to barter, provided that each man had a permit and sold his beasts only to the Company, etc. The Directorate in Holland withdrew the privilege as promptly as the post permitted in those days. Followed the long battle against men who would not observe the regulations; who often ill-treated the Hottentots or developed an undesirable familiarity; who roved out of bounds; who brought diseased sheep amongst the flocks of the settlement; who set the Hottentots against the Company or posed as Company's servants; who knew when the Company's cattle-barterers would set out and started off beforehand, spoiling the Company's market not only by exhausting supplies but by paying more and thus jeopardising the supplies for the fleets, hospital, and garrison; who by their malpractices endangered the lives and property of their fellow-colonists, and

incidentally impoverished the Hottentots to an extent when it became necessary to go farther and farther afield to find cattle.

The last of the reiterated proclamations against barter before the appointment of Willem Adriaan van der Stel appeared in October 1698 and was duly reported to the Directors. It drew from them an interesting and significant decision. Earlier, in July 1695, they had written expressing the opinion that it was time the freemen shouldered the responsibility for which their land and state of burghers were given them, namely, to relieve the Company of the trouble and expense of cattle-breeding and agriculture. In reply to Simon van der Stel's despatches of 1697 they recall to his mind their desire to be dependent upon the freemen for supplies. Free barter, therefore, shall be open to the freemen. A vigorous plakkaat shall provide against ill-usage of the Hottentots, and instructions shall be drawn up "for mutual guidance". Servants of the Company who have seats upon the Political Council and at the Board of Justice were to be precluded from any share in this traffic. As soon as possible the Company was to get rid of its cattle-posts, and the Company's lands let or sold for the benefit of the Company.

At the beginning of 1700 Willem Adriaan van der Stel, the new Governor, formally withdrew the edict against barter, and the trade was opened to all provided that the Hottentots were properly treated and no manner of coercion used in dealing with them. It resulted in the greatest possible abuse. The good type of colonist was firmly established upon his farm in the more productive areas of the colony, and had little desire to trek for weeks, or even months, many miles into the veld, but every roving and unsettled type, every man wanting to get rich quick, every scallawag in and out of the hands of justice, scores of bachelors for whom there were no wives (see census figures p. 33), and who had little incentive to settle down, rushed into this traffic as to a gold-mine. Others who would not implicate themselves so far as to join these men encouraged them by sharing the proceeds on their return and by helping to arm and provide them. The situation culminated in a particularly large and disreputable party. Complaints from the Hottentots of robbery, violence, even of murder, reached the authorities.

¹ In October 1702 the Governor, "in consequence of the great and intolerable excesses", suspended free barter until he should have reported to the Directors and received their orders. He had not dared, he wrote, to inflict the well-deserved punishment upon

the offenders because so many of the freemen were guilty, and to apprehend them would reduce their families to great misery. Moreover, it would not be possible to apprehend them all at once, and as soon as the Fiscal set about his work numbers would escape into the interior and by further depredations render the lives of the other colonists unsafe by exciting reprisals on the part of the Hottentots. He advised that the matter of punishment should be passed over provided that never again should occasion be given for it.

The Directors answered this despatch in November 1703. They were satisfied with van der Stel's action. They would consider the matter. Meantime, he must issue another plakkaat which would provide against the evil and reassure the Hottentots. In July 1704 they further transmitted the result of their august deliberations. They agreed that it would be disturbing to the whole colony to punish the offenders; moreover, so long a time had elapsed since the particular offenders had been reported that it was too late to punish them. The affair therefore would have to be overlooked provided that no such thing happened again. They believed that in fairness to respectable colonists the privilege of free barter should not be withdrawn, and the suspension thereof was to be set aside.

To this the Governor replies in March 1705 that he will duly carry out his instructions, but he fears that this unrestricted permission to range abroad will result in unsettling the colonists who, with the multiplication of their cattle and the exhaustion of pasturage, will be tempted to scatter themselves far and wide inland. In the event of hostile attacks this will weaken the Company's station, and the least misconduct on the part of the distant men will cause retaliation by the Hottentots, and the men farming on the boundaries of the colony will be robbed of their cattle and massacred. He suggests that permit to barter shall be confined preferably to married men of known good behaviour who would report their intentions and the direction of their journey.

In the same despatch the Governor, discussing the defence of the station (for war had broken out in Europe), stated that he could not withdraw soldiers from the country outposts to strengthen the garrison because the existence of free barter had scattered the graziers as far as a hundred and fifty miles inland, and the soldiers were needed to protect them against disaffected Hottentots. He adds a remark, significant to the expansion of

the colony, and revealing among other things how its development at this time was in a state of flux:

" . . . the people have gone so far inland with their cattle and have found there much better pasture than we have here; their sheep and cattle have multiplied exceedingly and grown fat If these people were now ordered to come back they would not know what to do with their cattle, as the lands about Drakenstein, Stellenbosch, and the Cape have all been given out and are occupied, without possessing any more suitable pasture."

The story had begun of the trekking boer.

An edict also existed against barter other than stock:

Nobody shall buy, barter, or trade with the Hottentots for elephant's teeth, tusks, rhinoceros horns, fur-skins, or ostrich feathers.

When van Riebeeck first promulgated this edict, three days after he landed, it was particularly hard upon the garrison men, and even more so when he continued to enforce it, for the men's rations were in very short supply, and he extended it to include fish and other sea-food which the Hottentots were willing to bring them. The men bartered for tortoise shells, ostrich eggs, and tusks in order to sell them to the ships' people for a trifle of cash to augment their miserable pay.

When some of these men, as the first freemen, were given their land in 1657 the Directorate decided that the prohibition against these casual little exchanges was unduly severe and it was withdrawn. None the less, the men were ordered to bring everything they bartered to the Fort on the understanding that they would be paid four times as much as they gave for it. As the freemen gave, and could afford to give, only the merest trifle—scraps of food or a plug of tobacco—this was a safe promise. The result was that little or nothing reached the Fort, and in September 1658 van Riebeeck in Council reimposed the prohibition. He suspected the freemen of being better paid by the ships' people and of reserving their treasures for them. Tortoises, ostrich eggs, and milk he allowed them to keep, but ivory, rhino horns, and ostrich feathers "and whatever further be of value to the Company . . . they shall be bound to send it to the Fort".

Further to enforce these regulations van Riebeeck encouraged informers—particularly detestable in so small a community of men:

"Informers shall receive a present of 50 Carolus guilders, and should they likewise be guilty they shall be pardoned in

addition, and on the first occasion promoted to the first official vacancy. Those, however, who are not guilty and disclose any treachery shall receive twice as much."

In later years the prohibition obtained rather because tobacco was so common a means of exchange, and if the Hottentots could get it for trifles they would be the more reluctant to trade their cattle, or would ask more for it. As the 18th century progressed severe proclamations were reiterated to ensure to the Company the monopoly in the purchase of ivory, and at the Company's price, but smuggling it into the ships at a better price continued.

BAKERS AND MILLING

None of the inhabitants shall sell bread without the consent of His Excellency the Governor, which having been obtained shall be registered at the Secretariat, and therewith a trademark whereby the baker may signify his bread. Bakers shall bake for a whole year.

It is also forbidden to any inhabitants to bake white bread other than for his own household, without selling the same, or in any manner trading it. Neither householders nor bakers may bake or sell bread other than of wheat flour just as it comes from the mill.

Until further orders none shall sell his grain other than to the Honourable Company, nor without written permission of the Government bake bread or cakes for sale.

(All these edicts are repetitions in varying form of edicts prevailing from the earliest times.)

Baking and milling were complicated by the erratic harvests, the claim of the Company upon corn to grind for garrison and fleets' bread, and the Company's determination to control the amount of flour used by or disposed of by the burgher community.

Until after the period of Willem Adriaan van der Stel no farmer had his own mill. It was not until Swellengrebel's day (1740s), when the farmers were discovered to have introduced the thin end of the wedge by making little hand- and water-mills of their own, that Michiel Otto, having done the Governor in Council the honour to apply for permission to erect a proper water-mill, was allowed to do so, "without its being used as a precedent".

Selling bread, made from surplus flour out of the ration allowed per family from the farmers' own grain, had always been one of the small means by which the freemen eked out a livelihood. The junior Company's servants did the same thing for the same reason.

Plakkaats continually appeared forbidding it, regulating it, as the circumstances of the time in relation to the Company's needs dictated.

In December 1659 van Riebeeck appointed the first freeman bakers. There was a particularly good harvest that year. Two of the garrison bakers applied for letters of freedom, and "as baking causes great trouble to the Company" they had their way, and until a freeman bakery could be built were allowed to use the Company's ovens.

The farmer freemen baked their own bread, but of flour ground in the Company's mill. They were obliged to bring all their corn to the Company and to buy back a ration of flour for their households. What bread they baked of a possible small surplus they sold.

The two appointed bakers were now given a monopoly as purveyors of "white bread, cakes, cracknels, and other pastry for the convenience of those who desire to live more daintily".

A year later everyone is baking again in the old way. Even Company's servants, as van Riebeeck complains, bake bread for sale and, what is more, all sell it at a price which "is a shameful usury". He again forbade free baking, relenting only in favour of inn-keepers and farmers, who might supply the passing traveller; and he fixed the price. Through this loophole people were soon going on as before.

It had been a great grievance from the time the freemen first settled upon their farms that they were not allowed to take to the Company's mill themselves what corn they wished to have ground for their households. The fact that van Riebeeck exacted a profit on the sale of flour to the farmers which rather more than covered the cost of storage and grinding was a cause of bitter grievance until a freeman miller was appointed. The Directors themselves told van Riebeeck that to exact this particular profit was "usury". He replied in effect that he did not see why the Company should not make this small profit, and added: ". . . in order to content complainers (who often take their corn away from the Company on credit and would like to swallow it without payment) we might have received the grain from the farmers at a higher price, using the Utrecht measure and retailing it by Amsterdam measure at the same rate, which, however, if it became known would also cause a frenzy".

In 1658 a freeman, Wouter Cornelis Mostert (Mostaert) of Utrecht, one of the soldiers who came out with van Riebeeck, and among the first grantees of land, was given the lease of the Company's horse-mill. He was now twenty-three years old, and in June of this year a young woman who had arrived in service from Holland had consented to become his wife. His partnership on the land with Jan Reyniers was dissolved, apparently with less advantage to Mostert than to Reyniers. Mostert was "a good, industrious and sober man". The three Company's men who had hitherto run the mill had to be paid wages, and in van Riebeeck's opinion failed to earn them. So the new arrangement was as gratifying to the Company as to Mostert. He also undertook to



From a photograph by Arthur Elliott from Kolbe
 OLD HUGGENCEMILL AT LA COITE



From a photograph in the Archives Library of the Cape
 LIBERTAS ADAM TASS FARMHOUSE

bake bricks and tiles, and did so for a long time. August to October of the following year he spent in building a new mill, a water-mill. He could not manage to pay for the building himself so the Company took it over, giving him the monopoly as miller to the Company for as long as he wished to hold it. The mill was roofed with "the newly-invented baked tiles", an innovation so protective against fire that van Riebeeck caused all the Company's buildings (which up to now were all thatched) to be re-roofed. Mostert supplied the tiles.

In 1660 the farmers were at last permitted to carry direct to Mostert the corn which they required to be ground for their households, instead of delivering, as before, their grain crop in its entirety to the Company. Mostert was warned not to grind more than a certain ration per head, an order designed to prevent their having enough flour to "sell to their friends in the ships", whereby the Company was "hampered in supplying the vessels with fresh bread". (That is to say, sales went into the pockets of the farmers instead of into the Cape Treasury.)

Possibly, understanding the poverty-stricken plight of the farmers and appreciating the value of peace on the station, Mostert carried out his orders with a reasonable amount of generosity. In any event, everyone who wished to do so continued to sell bread whenever he had flour to spare.

In 1664 van Riebeeck's successor discovered that he had inherited this state of affairs and expressed his horror at the way in which people who were obliged to buy bread and confectionery (and in particular the ships' crews) were being fleeced. He appointed as baker Thomas Christoffel Mulder. Mulder had begun as a soldier-shepherd, and for a year, 1657-8, had been in charge of the flock grazing on Robben Island, and in general charge of the island. In 1658 he took out letters of freedom and became a fisherman at Saldanha Bay. His name correctly spelt should be Müller. He was a German from Leipzig. In the records his name is spelt variously Muller or Mulder, but more often Mulder.

He was now given a monopoly of baking, his prices were fixed, and he was obliged to buy his corn from the Company and not from the farmers, who had no right to sell their corn to anyone but the Company.

• He was soon complaining that he could not make a living. Since his appointment the Council had increased the compulsory weight of loaves and now he could not come out on the price. He had spent f600 on establishing his bakery, and so forth. A further adjustment had to be made.

Time went on and the same sort of thing happened as before. Bakers were licensed, their monopolies infringed, bakers complained.

Mostert continued milling, brick-making, and engaged himself in other worthy activities. Presently, Mostert was allowed to buy corn direct from the farmers, and so were the bakers. (By the way, Mostert's Mill at Mowbray, which is now a national monument, is a late 18th-century structure, built by Gysbert van Reenen. The property was subsequently owned by a descendant of Wouter Cornelis Mostert.)

In 1682 Simon van der Stel withdrew the bakers' licences. They were paying the farmers more for grain than the Company paid, and thus diverted grain from the Company's use. This, however, was a temporary setback. Presently the licence to bake was put up to auction with the rest of the monopolies.

In 1686 the mill at Stellenbosch was built to serve this new settlement, and at the request of the Stellenbosch burgher councillors. It was a day's journey there and back to drive to the Cape to get their corn ground. Simon van der Stel fixed the mill fee at 10d. (approx.) per muid; the money to go into the burgher chest for the benefit of the Stellenbosch district. The burgher councillors leased the mill to the highest bidder, but remained responsible for the conduct of the business. In Tas's diary we see this performance in operation. Drakenstein also came to have its mill, placed in the same way under the control of the burgher councillors who represented Drakenstein. We find in the records that in 1703 the people of Drakenstein, in the throes of acquiring this first mill, were having not a little difficulty.

The story is interesting as revealing how little authority the burgher councillors actually exercised up to this period; how variously they shouldered their responsibility; and what trifling matters the system of Government threw upon the shoulders of the Governor and the Council of Policy.

The people of Drakenstein complained that the mill had not yet a door nor a loft. Their grain waiting to be ground was left in the open. The master woodcutter, Jan Vosloo, had already been paid to finish the job and had failed to do so. The Governor in Council demanded of the landdrost and councillors the reason for this neglect. They replied that they had never had anything to do with the matter; that they had handed over the collection of mill-fees, and so forth, to the ex-burgher councillor Barend Burchard; that Jan Vosloo had not completed the mill because no one would lend his waggon to fetch the timber "even after being offered

payment to do so". They added that no one would fetch fuel for the Minister, either. There wasn't enough water to run the mill at Drakenstein—a dam should be made. Finally, "people will not obey or carry out any orders given them". What, they ask, does the Government advise the councillors to do about it?

This was not the first time that the Governor (and his predecessors) had met with difficulty in procuring transport from the farmers whether to perform certain obligatory service for the Company or to serve their own community. The Drakenstein people had to be compelled to do their share of helping to convey the first settlers to the Land of Waveren (Tulbagh Valley) in 1700, in spite of the fact, as the Governor reminded them, that they had been helped themselves when they needed transport to their new homes some years before. When the bridge—which Tas mentions—was to be built across the Eerste River in March 1701 the work was held up because the freemen would not come forward to ride the timber.

In replying now to the burgher councillors' excuse that they "never had anything to say in this matter" the Governor described it as "absurd". To refuse transport, as also to refuse to see that the minister was supplied with fuel was "injuring public interests". They were to hire a waggon and charge it to whoever's turn it was to ride "according to the list framed for the purpose". If it was not paid for the payment was to be recovered by "summary execution". (The burgher councillors had authority to deal magisterially in matters concerning such small sums.) The landdrost is to send an estimate for making a dam. As for ex-burgher councillor Burchard, the landdrost is instructed: "He is to inform us by whose orders he has assumed that power, of which we disapprove. It is our order that the landdrost and councillors shall collectively hold that power at Drakenstein, and that every councillor shall take his turn in collecting fees". Barend Burchard is also "to render to the landdrost an account of all sums collected by him from beginning to end".

It was not surprising, apart from the familiar transport difficulty, that the Governor was testy. Complaints of the burgher councillors' casual conduct of affairs in general had reached him a couple of months before. Men were being unfairly treated. One man in coming to the mill was allowed to grind more than another, and to sell his surplus flour at the Cape, while others were left in want. The Governor had already been obliged to arrange that the Secretariat should be furnished with a monthly statement of all flour ground at the mills and of the quantity of grain brought by every family.

Of the bakers, the last glance we can take of them is in 1705, when one of them was "allowed to proceed to Batavia as there is nothing for him to do here as a confectioner", and in 1706, when complaints from bakers reached the Governor again, this time of unfair competition within their own ranks. Some bakers were employing three or four slaves to hawk their master's bread about the town, and the rest could not afford this. The order therefore went forth that in future each baker might have only one slave or assistant for this purpose. All are reminded that their bread must be stamped with their trade-mark.

A little story of an individual baker, Klaas Meyboom, whom Tas mentions in his diary as having some altercation with the Governor, may round off these notes upon the subject in general. It gives a picture of domestic history which is not unamusing.

All Tas tells us of the altercation is that the Governor had forbidden Meyboom to make bread, but that Meyboom had gone on baking just the same. Why this happened Tas does not divulge. One of the accusations with which the disaffected group of farmers charged the Governor was that the Governor forbade bakers to bake who did not buy their grain from him. This, Meyboom's partner himself, in company with five other bakers, denied under oath in giving evidence during the enquiry about all these affairs. Meyboom, in his own evidence, when asked what bakers the Governor had threatened to ruin if they did not purchase his corn, replied: "Neither he himself nor anyone else". What Klaas Meyboom had probably been doing was to buy corn from the farmers at a higher price than the Company paid—a very venial sin in the eyes of everyone except the Government.

For the rest of Meyboom's story we are indebted to O. F. Mentzel, whose descriptions of life at the Cape in the early 18th century have been republished by the Van Riebeeck Society.

Meyboom got on in the world. His wealth descended upon him in a mysterious manner so that the imagination of his contemporaries ran riot, and they ascribed his sudden access of prosperity to his having robbed a wreck. It is more probable that he enriched himself by skilful trading, after the manner described in these notes under TRADE, and was averse from divulging his special secret.

In the Letters Despatched from the Cape we have the record of his having sent to Holland in May 1702 for his wife and daughter. By the time Mentzel knew the family there were four grown-up children, three daughters and a son, Floris. As a child of four or five years old Floris had been blinded by smallpox. (In

all likelihood during the epidemic of 1713.) His parents sent the child to Holland for operation but it was not possible to effect a cure. Floris, however, was intelligent, and with a slave for a body-guard appears to have moved about society happily enough. He had a beautiful watch, the dial marked with gold roses, by which he could tell the time to the minute. Mentzel made a sundial for him, and after the slave had placed Floris's hand where the shadow lay the young man found no difficulty in setting his watch right.

The eldest daughter was named Alberta and nicknamed Abbetje. In the light of her father's prosperity Abbetje "used to carry her head very high". She appears, none the less, to have developed plenty of native sense after marriage. She married a German of the upper citizen class, Rudolf Siegfried Allemann, who came out to the Cape as a soldier of the Company, was employed as the Company's hunter, and rose to become the Commander of the garrison.

The romance of the marriage began when as a soldier-hunter he required a night's lodging in the country and knocked at the door of the nearest farmhouse. Klaas Meyboom, for his farm it was, would have offered his guest the usual hospitable reception accorded to a European, whoever he was, but Abbetje would not agree that "a common soldier" should do other than sleep in the kitchen. "Now it is true," writes Mentzel, "that Dutch kitchens are far cleaner than German ones, but it is usual at the Cape for a couple of slave girls to bring their beds into the kitchen towards night-time." None the less, Mistress Abbetje firmly ordered that the soldier's bed was to be made up in this dormitory. Allemann departed in the morning, courteous but "feeling rather displeased with Mistress Abbetje".

Allemann became ensign and the Governor, van Noot, so the story goes, decided that Mistress Abbetje Meyboom, with her prospective fortune paying six per cent., should be a match for the ensign. At a party in the Governor's house at the Castle the Governor proposed this idea, first to the young lady, who complied with his suggestion with quite charming wit and dignity, and then to the young man, whose presence he commanded without delay. The young man complied with equal *savoir-faire*. Mistress Abbetje gave her promise of marriage, and added: "There is something that you, too, must promise—to forget what is past!"

The young man made his bow: "I know of nothing to forget. I love you from the bottom of my heart. Here is my hand!"

The Governor celebrated his success with 18th-century exuberance, especially when he heard that the past related to his

ensign's bed in a place so distant from the future prospect of its place.

Mentzel became tutor to the Allemann children, so doubtless he repeats the story from the lips of the principal actors. The marriage is interesting, too, as ushering in a period when inter-marriage between higher-ranking Company's officials and daughters of the more prosperous burghers was becoming a common event. Formerly, it was an exception to find among the farmers men whose daughters could be considered eligible as wives under the strictly-governed social rules of the time.

In Willem Adriaan van der Stel's time his brother François's marriage to Johanna Wessels, a burgher's daughter, was the exception.

In 1751 we have a list of the members of the Council of Policy, and nearly all of them are married to burghers' daughters. The Governor himself, Ryk Tulbagh, "Father Tulbagh", under whose administration the Cape was the happiest in its history under the Company, was married to Elizabeth Swellengrebel, a name which carries us back to Tas's diary when we hear from the Journal of the time that a young Company's official, Johannes Swellengrebel (Russian by birth), accompanied by another, Jacob Cruse, was sent in September 1705 to represent authority at the parade of the burgher militia at Stellenbosch. Swellengrebel's son Hendrik entered the service of the Company, having been born and brought up at the Cape. He rose to become Governor—the first South African to be appointed. He was "neither learned nor intellectual", writes Mentzel; there was, indeed, "no single branch of learning in which he had been solidly grounded", but he was of "a very good heart". (There was no system of higher education at the Cape then or at any time under the Company.)

Ryk Tulbagh of Utrecht, "the son," Theal tells us, "of plain but honest and respectable family," reached South Africa as a clerk of the Secretariat in 1716. He rose to be Secunde under Swellengrebel and married Swellengrebel's sister. When Swellengrebel retired he recommended Tulbagh as his successor and the Directorate accepted the suggestion.

Meyboom, Vermey, van Brakel, van der Bijl, all descendants of the dramatis personæ of Tas's diary, number amongst the wives of the Councillors of Policy under Tulbagh. So it was that the pattern of social life changed, and the cleavage between burgher and senior Company's servant ceased to be so marked.

CHURCH MATTERS AND PUBLIC MORALITY

No tapster or inn-keeper may serve liquor on Sundays or holydays before or during Divine service.

(Other edicts dealing with garrison men out of bounds in part originated as church discipline.)

Anyone having been found in the slave quarters by day or night shall without distinction be heartily thrashed.

(This edict was a dead letter. Mentzel describes the use to which the slave lodge was inevitably put. In November 1678 Commander Crudop inveighed against the evils of the slave lodge, and upon the familiar intercourse in general on the part of Europeans with slaves. Three years later Simon van der Stel expressed himself upon the subject even more explicitly. The Plakkaaten issued upon these occasions will be found in Kaapse Plakkaatboek pages 151-2 and 179 respectively. Much later than this an inn existed on the foreshore dedicated to the use of "sailors and blacks".)

Soon after his arrival van Riebeeck issued his first edict insisting upon a decent observance of religion: "As many absent themselves from daily prayer . . . attending very little to their religion . . . everyone, whoever he may be, is warned henceforth to attend at the place appointed for the purpose . . . those remaining absent shall forfeit six days wine rations. . . ."

A man offending for the third time was threatened with having to work in chains at the public works for a year. Too many, van Riebeeck complained, gave themselves over to "drinking and debauchery" on Sundays and at other times. The tapsters were now—1657—forbidden to sell liquor after the watch was set in the evening, and men were forbidden to run off to the country to visit their friends (who had started farming there) in order to spend Sunday riotously. They were to be on hand when the bell rang and attend service.

In December 1661 he returned to the charge, for things were no better. The tavern-keepers were again forbidden "to dispense drink to anyone after the Watch is set", nor might they have anyone in their taverns before or during service "on Sundays, Holy days, or sermon days".

In 1665 van Riebeeck's successor was obliged to republish these admonitions, once more deploring the prevalence of dissipation in the country on Sundays.

In following up the development of Church affairs during the first fifty years we might begin with Tas's diary, where they are reflected in a spirit which in itself requires some explanation, and which would in any event involve much reference to the past.

Tas himself, though we find him elected as a deacon during the course of the story, contributes on his own shewing a purely destructive element to the sum of parochial difficulties.

The Rev. Henricus Bek, as revealed in the official records during the long period of his ministry at the Cape station (twenty-nine years), was a devoted and unselfish servant of the Church.

Another victim of Tas's gamin wit, Mr. Gulielmus Johannes Grevenbroek, Elder of the Church at Stellenbosch, was an erudite and honourable old man who arrived at the Secretariat in 1684, and in 1694 had retired from office as Secretary to the Council of Policy, and had become a freeman of Stellenbosch. He wrote a valuable little treatise upon the Cape Hottentots which the Van Riebeeck Society has republished. (Vol. 14).

Resentment against the Rev. Petrus Kalden or Kalde, Minister at Cape Town, appears to have been to a certain extent justified. From our own point of view we might suggest that a country house several hours' journey away from the scene of his ministerial labours was hardly the choice for a minister even if he had not burdened his time with farming operations and seeing that his produce reached the market. The need of his whole attention to the concerns of his parish was urgent and obvious to the most casual observer. He was surrounded by a small community of Europeans, for the most part poor and struggling, and still disturbed by unruly characters (other than political rebels), which had been insufficiently weeded out when from time to time the Council of Policy made attempts to relieve the community of people who failed to justify the grant of their letters of freedom. He was also surrounded by the heathen Hottentots, for whom nothing was provided to compensate them for dispossession, or to retrieve them from a condition of disintegrated tribal happiness and the extreme of squalor. The slave lodge was a running sore of evil. One might suppose that if the Minister had any time to spare from the immediate duties of his office his hands would have been more than full with the extra administration which circumstances required of him.

This, however, is a personal opinion which perhaps should be modified by contemporary Church Council views upon what to expect of its Minister. The contemporary attitude toward the slave may have been satisfied with services which the sick-comforter—parish clerk—was considered competent to deal with. Individual Hottentots in service with Europeans received some tuition as a rule, but the Company had not considered it necessary to save the Hottentot soul in general at the Company's expense, nor to promote

with any determination the establishment of a mission. A Moravian missionary, Georg Schmit, from July 1737 to the end of 1743, laboured in the Stellenbosch district, but his work was hindered by restrictions set upon his authority by the Dutch Reformed Church, and he returned to Europe. No mission was firmly established until the end of the century. Education was also under the ægis of the Church during the whole period of the Company's rule, but it effected little to improve the standard.

What Kalde appears to have done was to perform the routine duties of the Church with learned dignity, and that was all. When he was recalled, in company with Willem Adriaan van der Stel, the Church Council in its minutes declared that Kalde was "God-fearing, modest, affectionate and civil, and a lover of study". The Council further declared: "Not the least complaint of the congregation has ever come before us".

As for his farming operations, Kalde was by no means the only minister in the Company's service who engaged in traffic. That ministers did so was the Company's horrified discovery about this time. It was as one of them he was dismissed from the service on his return to Holland.

He had been appointed to the Cape in December 1695 and thus was in his tenth year of service when Tas's diary opens. His land was granted to him in February 1700 by the Commissioner, Wouter Valckenier, homeward-bound from Batavia, and holding the authority of the Governor-General and Council of India. Valckenier granted land to every senior Company's servant who wished for it. Willem Adriaan van der Stel received his grant from the same Commissioner, as did Blesius, the fiscal, and Samuel Elsevier, the Secunde.

The Company had been slow in taking adequate measures to provide the Cape station with spiritual amenities. It was of some concern to van Riebeeck that there had been no fully ordained and resident minister during the whole course of his command. His successor was assured that the Directorate approved the principle of the Cape's having its own minister and promised to bear the matter in mind. Meantime, the old order prevailed. A sick-comforter took the services. Probably many people, like Tas, found such services devitalised, and church attendance suffered. A sick-comforter was not ordained and enjoyed very restricted privileges. He might neither baptise nor marry, nor administer Holy Communion. He was also strictly forbidden to preach extempore lest a man unordained might deviate a hair's breadth from the tenets of the Calvinist creed. (The first sick-visitor of

van Riebeeck's time got into trouble for appearing to preach extempore. He had bad eyesight and took to learning a suitable printed sermon by heart, dispensing with the book rather than peer painfully at it when before his congregation.) The Secretary of the Council of Policy acted as Marriage Officer. The station had the benefit of full services when the fleets came in. There were always ordained chaplains with the fleet and these men took the services while the ships were in the bay. They caught up with arrears of baptism, celebrated Holy Communion, and married those who had preferred to await this privilege.

There was no church. Services were held in the hall of the Commander's house at the fort. At last, in August 1665, the Company sent out the Rev. Johan van Arckel. His congregation numbered about a score of freemen families and a garrison much enlarged because the Netherlands were at war with England. He found only twenty-four Communicants, and Church services ill-attended.

The hall of the fort was now too small if everyone was to be gathered into the fold. In the following January van Arckel laid the foundation-stone of a little timber and thatched church. It was no better than a large store-shed, and as such came to be used after the war when the garrison was reduced. The congregation returned to the hall in the fort. Van Arckel did not live to hold the first service in the little church. He died six months after he arrived. A succession of ships' chaplains detained at the Cape filled the vacant office until the Rev. Rudolphus Meerland, also retrieved from a passing ship, in 1674 "elected to remain".

Much building was going on at the time, and went on all through the 'seventies. It was a period of war. The new fort was built—the nucleus of the present Castle—and in building it a church was planned within its walls, next to the residence of the Governor. The church was completed at the end of 1674.

Meerland had found a parsonage ready for him. It had been built on what we now call the Parade in 1671. The Journal of May 1674 tells us that (with the enlarged garrison) there were "fully 1,100 souls" at the Cape, so that his congregation was larger than the Cape congregation had ever been before.

Church matters went ahead with Meerland. A Kerkeraad, or Church Council, was established. It was subject to the control of the Council of Policy. One or more members of the Political Council sat upon the board; one of the elders was a Political Councillor, and one deacon also a Company's servant. An inspector or "commissioner" from the Political Council examined

its affairs. (We read in Tas's diary of a meeting of the Stellenbosch Kerkeraad where a commissioner is in action.) A double list of nominees for the offices of Elder and Deacon had to be submitted to the Council of Policy annually, from which the Council would make its choice. It held the right to reject any or every nominee and to call for a fresh list.

Meerland found that the Poor Fund was so far satisfactory as not to expend its annual income. Women, for instance, doubtless hesitated, however hard put to it, to come down upon the Poor Fund, for if they did they were not allowed to stiffen their skirts like their happier sisters, but had to come drooping to church, the symbol of their fallen fortunes plain to all the world. The Poor Fund was administered by the deacons. It was made up of church collections, certain fines, and bequests. Commander Wagenaar, van Riebeeck's successor, had set an example by leaving a bequest for the Poor Fund, and others had followed it. The fund, however, was invested in mortgages upon house property, vineyards, and land in general. The danger of fire was so great that it was now decided that the funds invested in house property were insecure and that investment must be confined to land.

In 1678 the need for a proper church was discussed. During the previous year a new graveyard had been laid out. The old one was overcrowded, even indecent, for bones were apt to see the light of day. It lay high, too, and was insanitary. For the new graveyard the lower end of van Riebeeck's Company garden was taken in (the garden henceforth developed towards the mountain), and now the foundation-stone of a church was laid in the middle of it. It was on the site occupied today by the Dutch Reformed Church in Adderley Street.

There matters rested for twenty-two years. A wall was built round the churchyard, for pigs were rooting among the corpses, but that was all. The minister who succeeded Meerland was the first to be buried in the new graveyard. He died in 1677. The old timber church in its turn became a store. We read in Simon van der Stel's despatch of August 1st, 1696: "The new hall having been completed in the Governor's house (a new house) the first sermon was preached in it on the 22nd May" (Whit Sunday).

Not until 1700, after urgent representations had been made by Mr. Kalde to a Commissioner, was the church building really begun. The Cape had now outgrown the very modest plan drawn up for a church in 1678. It was discarded and a new plan made.

The new foundation-stone was laid by Willem Adriaan van der Stel, and on January 6th, 1704, the first service was held in the church. Mr. Kalde preached from the text: "In all places where I record My name I will come unto thee and bless thee."

The tower still remained to be built. It was built, and in later years raised. Later still, a clock was put into it, but even that refrained from striking until later still. Its first organ was made at the Cape by a Company's craftsman at the cost of the Governor, de la Fontaine, in the 'thirties. He sold it to the church when he left. Only the end walls and the tower of the old church remain today.

The stories of the churches of Stellenbosch and Drakenstein have an extra interest in that they embrace the story of "the Frenchmen" of Tas's dairy, and the explanation of the Rev. Henricus Bek's peregrinations from one parish to the other.

When Simon van der Stel arrived to take up his post at the Cape the freemen population, men, women, and children, plus soldiers loaned to them as farm labourers, numbered just under three hundred. He had hardly arrived before he travelled abroad to seek additional fertile soil and better pasture. The result of his expedition was the discovery of the lovely district of Stellenbosch—so named after himself and the verdure he saw around him. Immediately the advance-guard of one or two farmers transferred their operations from the Cape to this district. Early in the following year a little line of ox-waggons carrying eight families took the track to join the others. Here was to arise a charming little village destined to become the centre of a farming community with a character all its own. Here was the prototype of the many villages which were to arise in time to come. Soon, more families followed. Servants of the Company who now took up letters of freedom settled there, and the odd emigrant or two.

In 1683 the freemen of Stellenbosch presented the Council of Policy with a petition to give them a sick-visitor. The Castle was too far away (a day's journey there and back) to attend church there, and though the Cape minister came up every quarter to take a service in one or other dwelling there was need to have some regular Sunday observance of Holy Worship, and the children must be taught to read and write and say their catechism. There were some thirty farms now in the district.

It was all talked over when the Governor came up to celebrate his birthday amongst them. A respectable soldier was found to undertake the post of sick-visitor and village schoolmaster. The Governor sent up Company's skilled workmen to erect a little

building in which the sick-visitor might live and keep school. The workmen's services were charged to the Company and also the nails for the job. The farmers were required to supply the rest of the materials.

For a while this effort served its purpose, but in 1686 the farmers returned to the charge. Simon van der Stel was with them as usual for his birthday, and had brought up the Cape minister, who held a service in one of the farm-houses and christened the first three children to be born in the district. The farmers wanted a church. They had amongst them a master mason, Douwe Steyn, who had come out as an emigrant in the 'seventies. (His descendant became president of the Orange Free State.) This man was given the job, under the supervision of Ensign Olaf Bergh as master of works, and a building 40 feet by 22 feet went up. An elder and a deacon were appointed to assist the sick-visitor.

It was 1700 before Stellenbosch, after sharing with Drakenstein a French minister (which will be presently explained), was given its own ordained minister—the Rev. Hercules van Loon. Van Loon knew something of the Cape as he had been one of the ships' chaplains detained to serve the station before Mr. Kalde arrived.

By this time Steyn's little church was suffering from the damp, which so easily attacked the early buildings of soft brick or of pisé, and it was now too small to hold the congregation comfortably. The burghers wanted it repaired and enlarged into the form of a cross. By the time the minister arrived the Governor had already written to the Directorate to ask if the Company would help the burghers by supplying the glass and iron for a church. In March 1701 permission arrived and the building was taken in hand. This is the church which figures in Tas's diary. Elsewhere—when it was burnt down in 1710—it was described as having been "a pretty little church".

For seven years Stellenbosch was again without a church, and we find the burghers petitioning in 1717 for leave to build another, and to be given imported timber at cost price. Ever since the fire they had been holding services first in the house of the long-suffering Mr. Bek (who served Stellenbosch until 1726, when he was transferred to the Cape), and after that in "Jan Botma's little pæss-house (wine-press)". We may remark in passing that though there were men farming in the Stellenbosch district at the beginning of the century who had already made the firm foundation of prosperity the congregation as a whole is still described in the official records of 1710 and of 1717 as struggling. In 1710 the

request of the Landdrost de Meurs of Stellenbosch to be supplied with Company's carpenters, to repair the bridge across the Eerste River, is considered reasonable and was granted "in order, as much as possible, to promote the progress of that tender and poor colony".

In June 1708 Mr. Bek was rewarded for "his proper zeal" in petitioning to have appointed as a permanent schoolmaster a soldier on loan from the Company to one of the freemen. His request was granted. School was to be held in the church porch. Apparently, the sick-visitor of this day required the full use of such a tiny cottage as would be his, or maybe there had been neglect in repairing the plaster, upon the good condition of which depended the life of these dwellings, and the cottage of 1683 had become uninhabitable.

Meantime, while the fortunes of Stellenbosch village progressed in this fashion, the parish of Drakenstein had arisen. Its course was destined to be tempestuous during its early years.

When the French Huguenot emigrants arrived in 1688-9 it was planned that their farms should be scattered amongst the Dutch farms in order the more speedily to assimilate the foreign element. The year before the Huguenots arrived the district of Stellenbosch had been extended to embrace what was to become Drakenstein. A number of men in the return fleet of 1687 expressed the desire to settle at the Cape. Few of them were married, and Simon van der Stel was loth to increase the already too numerous bachelors on the station. However, about a score of men were permitted to remain, and new lands were surveyed for them along the Berg River in the valley of the Drakenstein Mountains to the east of Stellenbosch. (Drakenstein was named by Simon van der Stel after the Commissioner Extraordinary, Hendrik Adriaan van Rhee de tot Drakenstein, Lord of Mydrecht.) The Huguenots, with a few exceptions, were scattered amongst the Drakenstein farmers.

The Huguenots were not made happy by this arrangement. They wanted to be together. Farms were anything from an hour's to three hours' journey apart; it might be twice the distance to reach a French neighbour. They had yet to learn Dutch. There was an even more serious difficulty. The Directorate had solemnly promised them in making the conditions under which they emigrated that they should have their own pastor and that their children should be taught in their mother tongue. Their own pastor, the Rev. Pierre Simond, a man who also spoke Dutch, had come out with them, and a sick visitor, Paul Roux (who has numerous

descendants in South Africa today), also bilingual, was appointed. But their flock was sadly scattered. It was not long before the Frenchmen succeeded by purchase and one way and another in occupying land in the same area. Men even threw up their grants and served a countryman as knecht rather than be isolated from their friends. Some of them pressed into the extreme corner of the valley where the Hottentots Holland range meets the Drakenstein range at an angle, and it became known as the Fransche Quartier. [In the next generation it became Fransch Hoek, as it is called today.]

The Company intended that the Rev. Pierre Simond should serve the whole district of Stellenbosch-cum-Drakenstein, holding services alternately in French and Dutch. It was all very difficult. There was no church and no parsonage at Drakenstein and no immediate prospect of either. Immediately, the French protested. They had contracted for no such half measures. They wished for their own church in their own midst and the undivided attention of their pastor. Mr. Simond led a deputation to Commander (as he then was) Simon van der Stel. Van der Stel received the deputation with the greatest possible indignation. The French were reminded of their oath of allegiance and told to be thankful for the hospitality they had received.

The matter could not end there. Mr. Simond had already written to the Directorate. In the result, Drakenstein was permitted to establish its own Church Council provided that it was subject to the control of the Council of Policy. The Directorate's intention, however, despite its promises, was only thus to temper the wind to the shorn lamb, and no one could have been more determined than Simon van der Stel to work its way and to exterminate the French tongue and French tradition in the least possible time.

For the French to be assimilated into the community by becoming Dutch-speaking, by intermarriage, and by interests and way of life not differing from their Dutch neighbours in the country of their adoption was, as a longer-term policy, a prospect reasonable and politic. With so small a proportion of French families amongst the Dutch (about a sixth), and a proportion not to be increased by further French emigration, the process of assimilation might have been left normally to develop without arguing the bitterness which broken faith occasioned. Intermarriage and the necessity to understand Dutch, if daily life and business were not to be hindered, must inevitably have brought about the desired object in good time. As it was, race feeling was aroused, and for a while the situation was very unhappy.

Presently the Dutch farmers in Drakenstein reacted to the French resentment by demanding a full-time Dutch sick-visitor-cum-schoolmaster. The district was becoming more populated and more widely scattered. There were farms straggling away as far as the Wagonmaker's Vlei, towards Wellington. The demand was granted. In April 1700 a Dutch sick-visitor returning home in the fleet was offered, and accepted, the situation. The man spoke French at need. Mr. Simond had been sufficiently forceful in his representations for a man to be chosen who could speak both languages.

Though the congregation was larger than at Stellenbosch, Drakenstein still had neither a church nor a parsonage. (It was a circumstance that was to cause a great deal of mischief a few years later.) Services continued to be held in a barn or a dwelling-house.

In March 1701 Mr. Simond applied for his release. His contract had not yet expired, but he had no intention of renewing it, and now particularly wished to be in Europe for a certain Church congress. He was a scholar and had made a new translation of the Psalms which he proposed to submit to his peers. His parishioners were dismayed at the prospect of his departure. He had been their father from the beginning. Who knew what his departure might mean? Who would now be their advocate? The Directorate regarded Mr. Simond's application as reasonable. One might even suspect that they welcomed it. They gave him his release, but stipulated that he should remain at his post until his relief arrived.

In due course the Cape Government was informed that the Rev. Henricus Bek had been appointed. He was able to speak French, but his instructions were to preach only in Dutch. The French tongue was to fall into disuse "and to be banished thence". "This," added the despatch, "can be done the more easily as there are no French schools there." As schoolmaster, Paul Roux would be told "to proceed with that object henceforth, in no other direction or further than to let the young learn our language, read and write it". The foreboding of Mr. Simond's flock was only too justified.

The Rev. Henricus Bek arrived in the churchless, parsonageless parish in May 1702. The Governor in Council ordered that a cottage should be built for him and arranged with the Directorate that he should receive an allowance for rent.

The cry from the French was not long in coming. The majority of them could not follow a Dutch service. In June 1703

they sent a formal petition to the Council of Policy to be forwarded to the Directorate. The adult members of the congregation, they pleaded, numbered more than a hundred (double that of Stellenbosch), and there was more than that number of children. Only some twenty-five of them could understand enough Dutch to carry on a simple conversation, let alone understand sermons. Since the Rev. Pierre Simond had left them they had been deprived of Holy worship which they could understand. They begged that Mr. Bek might at least be allowed to visit their own houses and bring them the comfort of religion in their own tongue.

The Council of Policy was moved to pity them. Willem Adriaan van der Stel forwarded their plea, explaining that he did so upon their "pressing request", and asking that the Directorate might "be pleased to make some alteration in the order [of 1701] and lighten it". In the meantime, he reported, he had given Mr. Bek permission to preach every other Sunday in French.

In July 1704 the Directors' answer arrived expressing their desire to abide by their decision of 1701 "at least for the present". However, they leave the matter to the Governor's discretion until he shall have written to report further on the subject.

"Again and again," he replies, "the congregation has petitioned." They plead, he continues, that they have no opportunity to pick up Dutch because the farms are so scattered and Dutch neighbours too distant for the daily and familiar intercourse by which a foreign tongue is acquired.

This was considered an insufficient excuse. Mr. Bek was to be permitted to visit the older people and to bring them what consolation he might, but that was all. It sounded a grim business, but in the meantime, the younger generation had been managing better. Despite the fact that their elders had once held a meeting deprecating marriage with the Dutch, and whatever difficulties language may have presented to ordinary occasions it made no difference to young love. The Dutch and French lads and lasses were contriving to marry one another. French names were already being atrociously mangled, and Tas, for one, hardly spells them the same way twice.

Yet in November 1706 Pieter Rousseau (his name already a mixture in the records), ancestor of many a South African living today, asks to be excused from accepting the offices of burgher councillor and lieutenant of the Drakenstein burgher infantry, on the score of his being imperfect in the Dutch language. Moreover, he explains, he has no understanding of martial exercise.

In 1708, when the Church Council of Drakenstein sent in French its report and list of nominations to the Council of Policy, it was ordered to write henceforth to the Council in Dutch.

All this time Paul Roux had remained at his post as sick-visitor. In 1723 he died. About a score of lingering old French people, still unable to speak Dutch, quavered their desire for another French-speaking sick-visitor to take his place. Their request was refused. The last word had been said. A few sad, old eyes watched grandchildren who would never speak the French tongue nor care about the things their forefathers had loved. It was inevitable, and sad only for the old people.

We have followed the story of the French language to the end, but we must go back to follow the fortunes of the Rev. Henricus Bek. He must have had an unhappy time if many of his parishioners had as little care for his problems as Tas. Bek was a Dutchman and not a Frenchman and as such doubtless many of his French congregation resented his appointment, and it is probable that Dutchmen (and Germans, as so many of them were) resented a certain sense of duty and kindness with which he defended the rights of their French neighbours.

His problems and his work were increased when, in June 1704, the Rev. Hercules van Loon committed suicide. He cut his throat with a penknife. Why, appears to have been a secret that died with him. Before we leave him we might say a word for his widow, to whom Tas applies such insulting epithets. In the Journal of August 1704 it is recorded that Mrs. van Loon and another minister's widow have applied for an increase of their pensions from the Company, as the amount of pension is based upon the cost of living in Batavia, and "rent and food are extraordinarily high" at the Cape. The Cape Government approved these applications and forwarded them to the High Council at Batavia with the recommendation: "The ladies described are virtuous but needy women". Again, in April 1708, a despatch mentions Mrs. Maria Engebreght, widow of the late Rev. Hercules van Loon, as a woman "whose virtue and godliness are irreproachable". In 1710 we find her narrow income augmented by her being appointed grave-digger. (The work would be done by her slave.)

On Mr. van Loon's death Mr. Bek asked to be given the living of Stellenbosch in his place, and for another bilingual minister to be appointed to Drakenstein. The living at Stellenbosch was conferred upon him, but pending the appointment of a minister for Drakenstein the duty devolved upon him of serving both parishes. This is the situation as we find it in Tas's diary.

The physical effort alone must have been considerable. Tas's malicious comment when the sick-visitor of Stellenbosch takes the minister's place one wet Sunday is discounted by the Journal of the time, which records his difficulties in wet weather with the pitfalls in the track between Stellenbosch and Drakenstein. He had to ride or drive about fifteen miles, part of the way going over Hellshoogte, a pass not remarkable for ease even today. There was doubtless also some good excuse for keeping his elder, Grevenbroek, waiting, which Grevenbroek understood, for he was man enough to defend his own dignity.

In the Journal of August 1708 we read that Mr. Bek's salary is to be increased, "as he had faithfully, most zealously, and diligently discharged his duties within this Government for more than six years, and his five years' contract had expired".

Mr. Bek deserved the pay and the tribute if ever a man did. For years he did double duty. He thought his troubles were over when at last a minister was appointed for Drakenstein. In actual fact, his troubles were far from over. The magnitude and eccentricity of the troubles to come were beyond any modest minister's imagining.

It was bad enough that the Rev. Engelbertus Franciscus le Bourcq delayed his arrival at the Cape until March 1707, especially as he was without employment in Batavia, from whence he was to come, and, as it subsequently appeared, Batavia had no great love of him. When he arrived and found that his parish had neither church nor parsonage he flatly refused to go there.

The argument was absolved from immediate solution by the fact that during the month following his arrival the despatch from the Directors arrived which, among the other accused officials, suspended the Rev. Petrus Kalde from office. This found the Cape without an incumbent. The Council ordered that Mr. Bek and Mr. le Bourcq should somehow manage all three parishes between them. Mr. le Bourcq contrived to arrange matters comfortably for himself by persuading Mr. Bek to continue his dual duty in the country and to leave the Cape to Mr. le Bourcq. The Council let it pass.

No sooner had the Council made this concession to peace when Mr. le Bourcq raised another storm by insisting that the appointment of Church officers should be the Church Council's entire affair, and he again refused to operate until the Council of Policy relinquished its supervision of nominations. It did not occur to him as its being more reasonable and more in keeping with clerical moderation to await the decision of the Directorate

upon a rule which had obtained at the Cape ever since a Church Council had come into being, and which the Council of Policy had no power to alter off its own bat.

He engaged the congregation in the excitement of battle. A lady fainted away in church on the historic occasion when he disturbed the course of divine worship by flinging down the gauntlet from the pulpit. The place was very successfully got by the ears, spiritually now as well as politically. Lengthy and lunatic epistles from his pen bombarded the Council of Policy, and at last he refused to occupy the pulpit again unless the Council capitulated. The Council stopped his pay.

There was nothing for it but to call Mr. Bek from the country to fill the senior vacancy for the time, and to withdraw Mr. Kalde from his retreat (he was awaiting the return fleet on his recall) to take a service at the Cape now and then when Mr. Bek hastened to comfort his bereft parishes in the country. (In February 1707 he did find time to marry, and Mr. Kalde to marry him, to Mr. Elsevier's daughter.)

Meantime, Mr. le Bourcq busied himself in the burgher discontents. Far from helping to reduce the place to order, he proved himself to be a nuisance of every sort and kind. A request from the Stellenbosch burghers to have this unemployed cleric appointed to Stellenbosch was firmly refused, and in September 1708 he was shipped back to Batavia.

In February 1708 Johannes Godfried d'Ailly arrived from Holland as Mr. Kalde's successor and peace reigned once more. But Mr. Bek continued to do double duty in the country until 1714. The Rev. Petrus van Aken was then appointed to Drakenstein. He had to wait until 1720 for his church.

A few details about church etiquette may be amusing. We are indebted to Mentzel for them. A close observance of social precedence was the order of the day, and no less in church. Even in receiving the Sacrament the same order had to be observed.

In the villages seniority of place would be accorded to the landdrost and the burgher councillors. At the seat of Government in Cape Town the order was more involved. The Governor, and his son if he had one, occupied a pew to the right of the pulpit. From his pew outwards ran a carpet upon which were set arm-chairs for his wife and daughters. (The chairs of the women were always set apart in Dutch Reformed church.) In a pew opposite the Governor's sat the members of the Council of Policy, all in order of precedence. Less exalted military and civil officers occupied two other reserved pews. Two rows of pews along the

side walls served, the front row for visitors of distinction and the back row for burghers. Women, other than of the Governor's party, sat upon chairs in the centre of the church facing the pulpit, the place of each chair expressing its owner's social standing. All comers found benches under the organ, and there the niceties of precedence were waived.

As matters kindred to church business we should record here the establishment of the Matrimonial Court and the Orphan Chamber.

The first was established in 1676. It was served by four "commsioners" or members of committee, two Company's servants, and two burghers. The senior Company's servant took the chair. Each year one member of each category retired. The Court submitted a double list of names and the Council chose from it the successors to the retiring members.

To the Matrimonial Court everyone had to repair before the banns were called. The applicant had to provide, if a minor (under 25), evidence of parents' consent; of whether degrees of blood relationship had been observed, and if widow or widower whether the inheritance of children by a former marriage had been safeguarded. A certificate from the Orphan Chamber to this effect was necessary before permission to marry could be obtained.

The Orphan Chamber was established in 1674 after a discussion, engendered by the Governor, Goske, which considered the undesirability of lumping together in the Poor Fund, under the administration of the Diaconate, the inheritance of orphans, "however large or small" the inheritance might be, whereby the orphans, whoever they were, shared and shared alike. The effect was to make it appear that orphans whose parents had left them adequately provided for grew up, no less than their unendowed fellows, at the charge of the Poor Fund. This involved an "odious name for children of good families when they arrived at years of discretion".

The Governor proposed to the Church Council that orphan moneys be separated from Church funds, and "according to the usage in the Fatherland they be entrusted to an Orphan Chamber".

The Church unanimously agreed, and the change was at once put into effect. The board was made to consist of seven members: a president in the person of the vice-president of the Council of Policy; a burgher as vice-president, three Company's servants and three burghers as ordinary members, and two paid employees—an Orphan Master and a clerk or secretary. (The burgher, Wessel Pretorius, was the first secretary of the Orphan Chamber.)

To the Orphan Chamber every death had to be reported—in theory, but it took some time to impress the fact upon the burghers, even when they might report in the country to the landdrost.

In November 1702 we find a testy message from the Governor in Council to the Landdrost of Stellenbosch (Michiel Ditmar) demanding to know why Gerrit Cloete's death was not reported. "A long time ago," it reads, "we ordered you regularly to report to the Orphan Masters the death of every free man and woman. . . ."

And again, in 1704, the landdrost and councillors have to be "strictly ordered to send information at once to the Orphan Masters when a freeman or freewoman dies. A certain farm in Drakenstein has already lain waste three years because no information was given. This information," they are warned, "is required at once".

Such an event is a curious reflection upon the colonists' *laissez-faire*, which made it difficult to get them to recognise the need of any regulation which caused them inconvenience.

In conclusion, it is interesting to record that public worship in no other creed than the Calvinism of the Dutch Reformed Church was tolerated at the Cape during all this period and for long afterwards.

It has always been a curious phenomenon that men of all nations who fought, bled, and burned for the right to save their own souls in their own way no sooner were established in their rights when they became as narrowly, even as violently, intolerant of the creeds cherished by other men.

From van Riebeeck's time the Journals and proclamations place on record the determination to countenance no celebration, public or private, of the Roman Catholic faith. If a French ship came in immediate steps were taken to remind the inhabitants and the ship's personnel of this rule.

The Rev. Rudolphus Meerland had no sooner arrived in 1674 than he refused to baptise children whose parents were not of the Reformed faith unless "at least one sponsor" belonged to his Church. "Such cases are becoming daily more frequent," he complained. Some Roman Catholic emigrants had arrived in the colony and these were their children. The parents had nowhere to turn for any Christian rite but to him and to the one house of God in the place.

In September 1685 Simon van der Stel, under the instructions of the Commissioner the Lord of Mydrecht, issued a proclamation stating that in future no men of the Roman Catholic faith would be released as knechts to the burghers.

There were any number of Germans among the colonists, and this brought the Lutheran faith to the colony. The Lutherans engaged in a long struggle for the right to build their own church. More and more German Lutherans settled in the colony, but it was not until 1780, after resistance had been whittled down almost to an absurdity (largely by the efforts of one prosperous Lutheran, Martin Melck) that they were permitted to engage the services of a pastor of their own.

The "Martin Melck House", in Strand Street, now a national monument, was the Lutheran parsonage built by Melck.

DEFENCE

None of the inhabitants of the Cape district shall, without permit, go further from home or this Castle than three hours' walk.

Bounds for soldiers: None without permit shall go beyond cannon-shot of the fort.

All the residents settled in the Cape district as well as at Stellenbosch and Drakenstein as soon as they hear the signal shots of alarm shall, without delaying a moment, on horse or on foot, fully armed and equipped, join their Colours; and in order that none shall be able to affect not having heard the signal one neighbour shall be bound to warn the other.

(Three cannon-shot indicated that all cattle must be brought home; five shots that women and children and cattle must be sent away to Hottentots Holland for safety, and the men come in a body to the Castle. In the days when the settlement was confined to the Cape itself twelve cannon-shot from the fort signalled that the people should drive their cattle to the post of the Mounted Guard—at Rondebosch—and come themselves to the fort with arms, clothing, food, money, and other such portable belongings. This was an order for the farmers who were all farming round the other side of Table Mountain.)

None of the inhabitants shall allow their slaves to carry arms, not even for protecting cattle.

None may sell any arms, knives included, to slaves.

When van Riebeeck sailed for the Cape the Company expected to work and defend the station with a garrison of seventy to eighty men, the senior officer of whom ranked no higher than a sergeant.

Neither was van Riebeeck a soldier. His previous history is as follows: He entered the service as a barber-surgeon and was sent to the Far East. There he appears speedily to have realised that better prospects offered as a Company's trader. He entered the Secretariat as a clerk and worked his way up to the rank of merchant. While acting as merchant and secunde at Tonkin he was found guilty of trading on his own account and was recalled to Batavia. This was in 1646. He was twenty-eight years of age. After his case had been considered at Batavia he was fined, but not heavily. He had proved himself an energetic and successful trader on behalf of the Company. The Directorate did not see fit to employ him again after his return to Holland (in Geleijnsen de Jongh's fleet, 1648) until he applied for the post at the Cape. His application was accepted and he was given the rank of Senior Merchant, but not the rank of Commander until 1654.

He was the Directorate's second choice, the post having been first offered to, and declined by, Nicolas Proot. (Of Proot, see essay "Van Riebeeck and the Hottentots", p. 171.) Out of his experience of three weeks' sojourn at the Cape while Geleijnsen de Jongh's fleet lay at anchor van Riebeeck furnished a report upon conditions there. There was plenty of it, and it at least gave evidence of an urgent desire to serve the Company.

He expected to be transferred to the Far East as soon as the fort at the Cape was built and the kitchen garden laid out. In this he was disappointed and destined to remain at the Cape for ten years. Whatever defects were his as a commander his men, taken as a whole, were difficult material to deal with. Jan Hawarden, who rose from corporal to be sergeant in 1654, and as such "chief of the military", was an excellent fellow, and there were others of the same metal, for they emerged among the free-men later on, but the average type was poor—irresponsible and degenerate. Speedily it became evident that the multiple jobs of garrison duty, herding cattle, tilling the soil, felling timber, building, and all for poor food and a few shillings a month, found no great number of stoics among them, and of the pioneering spirit there was no sign.

At the end of nine months van Riebeeck wrote in his Journal: "Thieving and roguery and other dirty malpractices so much on the increase that nothing of the Company's property can be entrusted to anyone, not even the sentries".

Mentzel (Van Riebeeck Society, Vol. 6) describes the extenuating circumstances which tempted the Company's soldier to fall from grace and to fail to reform: "Anxiety, hunger, contempt, and penury follow him everywhere . . . not more than ten per cent. who remain in the East get promotion which gives them a decent living". "Learn to support yourself by some honest trade," he advises the restless young man, "and remain at home in your Fatherland."

The method of enlistment exercised no choice of type. The Company needed so many men. It took them whatever they were and of whatever nationality, and they were procured by a combination of blackmail and press-gang. Certain private individuals—who earned the nickname of "sielverkoopers" (soul-sellers)—recruited men for the Company, equipping them in the barest fashion, and boarding them until the fleet sailed. Payment for these usurious services loaded a man with debt from which his wretched pay took long to relieve him, and in the meantime made life a burden.

Too many men brought to accept such conditions were fugitives from failure in their own country, even fugitives from justice. Men, good and bad, with an incurable *wanderlust* formed some percentage as in every service, but according to the testimony of their own authorities the percentage of sound men was low.

Of their sailors, the Directors wrote in 1660 to the Commander of the return fleet at Batavia: "Hardly have the latter arrived and the men are paid off and relieved of their oath than they break and fling everything to pieces; steal and plunder everything they can lay their hands on, creating such tumults, quarrels, and fighting, sometimes even with their own officers".

Mr. P. J. Idenburg, in his book *De Kaap de Goede Hoop*, quotes C. J. van de Graaff, Governor of the Cape 1785-91, as having written of the soldiers: "All the world knows that these people for the most part are the riff-raff of Europe; that they are . . . obliged to leave Europe and depart to Asia; that they are mostly people who by compulsion, by main force and cunning are taken into the service. One can assert without fear that out of a hundred soldiers in the service of the Company there are not four who have taken service uncompelled, and have little love of the calling".

Mentzel explains the whole system of recruiting and pay. He was himself a recruit, a man of breeding, German, an ex-officer who by reason of some regimental *contretemps* innocent of vice decided that a discreet departure from his Fatherland was the better part of valour. His figures would be tedious to reproduce, and further note upon the soldiers' pay will be found under the heading of Trade, but some reference to his account of the various ranks is interesting.

A sergeant had a good deal of responsibility, as he has today. On the books he ranked with a clerk, "the lowest rank of civil officials". He was twice removed from rank as a commissioned officer, an adjutant intervening. An ensign was the most junior officer and commanded a company.

The first man to hold the rank of ensign at the Cape was the promoted sergeant, Jan van Harwarden. He was also the Company's Works Superintendent, having a knowledge of building and agriculture. He was a man of sound character and initiative, leader in early exploring expeditions, and invaluable to van Riebeeck. He was a married man and in 1657, while still ranking as sergeant, the Commissioner the Governor-General Rijkloff van Goens, gave him permission to augment his pay by keeping a tavern—the first to be opened at the Cape. He was loaned "the sheds of the old sheep-kraal" for the purpose.

This caused some discontent among the newly-created freemen, who felt, justly enough, that tavern-keeping should be reserved as the prerogative of freemen. Harwarden, with equal justice, demanded compensatory increase of pay, either at the Cape or elsewhere. Van Riebeeck was loth to lose such a man. The Commissioner of the following year recommended that his rank and pay should be raised to ensign "on condition he abandons the liquor trade as too vile for a person in his position". No military importance was attached to his rank. It was purely a matter of extra pay. He was to continue to perform all the various jobs which had been his before. "This salary," explained the Commissioner in writing to the Directorate, "he has richly earned in consequence of the manifold services rendered by him; provided, however, that no other sergeant be appointed in his place."

Harwarden, "against the wishes of his wife", gratefully accepted the promotion and technically relinquished the trade. His wife continued to take in ships' people as lodgers, and presently he himself turned brewer and hired milch cows from the Company's herd for the purpose of dairy-farming, and kept pigs for sale and slaughter. Van Riebeeck encouraged this on the score that "no more cows can be given to the farmers because their debts are running too high, having already exceeded the sum fixed by the Directors".

Harwarden died in February 1659, and an ensign holding active office as such was not appointed to the Cape until just as van Riebeeck was leaving in 1662, when the strength of the garrison was raised to 120.

As time went on and the garrison increased still further in size the officer commanding the troops reached the rank of captain, which rank was held by Olaf Bergh (who had progressed from sergeant and ensign), commander of the garrison in Willem Adriaan van der Stel's time.

A man who entered the service as a sergeant paid, so Mentzel tells us, 500 gulden for his appointment (about £41 13s. 6d.). It was purchased by means of a letter of introduction furnished by domestics in the employment of the various directors whom the directors favoured by the donation of such letters.

A corporal paid 200 gulden for such a letter. The corporal, as today, was little removed from other rankers. He received f14 a month pay, as against the ranker's f9 or f10.

Ranking lower than the corporal was the cadet. He differed in no way from other rankers except that he started with f10 a month pay instead of f9, and in his having enlisted not at the

hands of the sielverkoopers but by "special favour". Any man of any age who could pay for his equipment and for slightly gentler treatment on his passage out could, if he could get the ear of an official, qualify as a cadet in the Dutch East India Company's service. Sometimes, as may well be imagined, it was the black sheep of the family who was shipped off like this. The Journal of March 1708 describes such a young man, who "had been taken into the Company's service . . . because his parents begged hard and incessantly . . . that they might no longer experience such disgrace through him".

The other soldiers dubbed the cadets "wittebroods-kinder" (Sunday's children). Their lot upon arrival was as hard to the next man's. We find a man "degraded" from corporal to cadet as punishment; another "promoted" to cadet—that is to say, an extra guilder a month—but he continued to mow hay and drive the dung-carts. Other cadets we find as shoemaker, cooper, stableman, gardener.

As the years went on conditions of service did not improve, nor did the type. The continuous trouble with defaulting outpost men and with irresponsible and criminal knechts—soldiers and sailors loaned by the Company to freemen, or freemen bachelors hired by landowners as craftsmen—tells a story of poor quality.

Of the garrison men, Willem Adriaan van der Stel writes to the Directorate in May, 1704: "They cannot possibly keep themselves on their trifling soldier's pay". He was only echoing the complaint of former commanders of the station, but it fell upon deaf ears.

Indeed, the whole service was damaged by the Company's grudging reward to its servants, good and bad, and it was the source of dishonesty from the ranker to the highest official. The corruption of the Dutch East India Company's servants became notorious, and for much of it the Company had only itself to blame.

The first "castle" at the Cape was a little fort of timber and sod, later lined with brick inside as a precaution against fire. In 1666 the foundations of a new fort were laid. War had broken out between Holland and England, and in any event the original little fort was falling to bits. A wall fell down one night when the commander was having dinner.

The new fort was occupied in 1674 and completed in 1676—its building more earnestly undertaken as Holland was at war again from 1672-78. The breastworks had to be finished with sod as timber was too difficult to come by. Insufficient timber was always

an agony at the Cape. An interesting inventory of the Cape Armoury of this date will be found on page 271 *seq.*, of Leibbrandt's translation of the Journal.

In 1682, Simon van der Stel's time, a new gateway was built, facing the town instead of the sea. In 1703—Holland again at war—a military expert, sent out to inspect and advise, had the walls raised, still with earthen breastworks, this time for preference (the breastworks were not bricked until 1830), and the garrison was presently increased to between 700 and 800 men. The Chavonnes and last battery was not begun until 1715.

The war of the Spanish Succession which broke out in 1702, with Holland, England, Germany, Savoy, and Portugal on the one side, and France and Spain on the other, was a severe cause of anxiety at the Cape during Willem Adriaan van der Stel's period of office. France for a long time had been the menace at the Cape, and her ships and officers warily treated.

Other than the timber and sod fort van Riebeeck built several redoubts to guard the landing-place and the farmers' lands. The first of the latter was "Coornhoop" (Hope of Corn). Three more were added in 1659, after the Hottentot rising, as part of the ramifications designed to keep them off their old pasturage, which had been appropriated as farm land for the freemen, and to resist their attempts at reprisals in the form of stealing the farmers' cattle. The redoubts were called "Kijk-uit" (Look out), "Houd den Bul" (Hold the bull), and "Keert de Koe" (Turn the cow). Linking up the redoubts van Riebeeck built miles of palisade, running in an arc behind the farms and the River Liesbeeck (then more worthy the name of river than now), from Kijk-uit to a point in "Leendert's forest" (present Kirstenbosch), which commanded the track through the mountain from Constantia Nek. In a second arc outside the palisade he planted thorn and wild almond bushes. This was his famous hedge, or "pega-pega", remnants of which still survive along the top of the Bosheuvel, and are preserved as a national monument. Van Riebeeck got the idea from having observed "close hedges of hawthorn" used as barricades in Barbadoes.

These redoubts soon fell into disuse. By the time van Riebeeck left he had so far completed the dispersal of the Peninsula Hottentots that they never again presented any serious danger. The watch-houses were remanned in 1668 for a time, not as a guard against the Hottentots, but to prevent the farmers' bartering for cattle with them.

The farmers aided the garrison in protecting their lands during the Hottentot rising of 1659. On May 1st, a few days prior to the outbreak, van Riebeeck, following up van Goens's instructions of two years before that every freeman should be practised in fire-arms, established the burgher militia. It was formed "in the same way in which the soldiers are kept here, namely with a sergeant, two corporals, and one drummer". In course of time the officers of the burgher militia rose in status to the rank of captain like the garrison. Their officers were chosen by the Council of Policy from a double list supplied by the burghers.

In the same year when van Riebeeck established the burgher militia he also established a Mounted Guard, stationed upon what is now Rondebosch Common, high ground overlooking the farms below. This was a triumph for van Riebeeck, because he had long struggled to get horses to the Cape. Not only were horses essential for the ordinary purposes of getting about, but the Hottentots feared the centaur apparition, and it was a further means of terrifying them into submission.

In 1655, so badly were horses needed he even sent the station's yacht to St. Helena to catch some Javanese ponies which should have been delivered at the Cape from Batavia, but which the fleet turned loose at St. Helena, having been ordered to pass the Cape in 1654 (war with England) for fear of English ships lying in wait. Only two ponies were recovered.

In September 1656 he was still voicing "our humble and earnest prayer for horses". Yet in July 1659 he had only four "fit for work". The Hottentot rising of that year at last moved Batavia to action. Van Riebeeck was disappointed in the result. Only four breeding mares turned up; the rest were old and all were small. "They can hardly be ridden half an hour," he writes in disgust, "when they fall down, and when they have been out only once they remain three or four days lying on the floor of the stables."

The poor little beasts were no doubt pretty badly overriden, or are Javanese ponies given to sit-down strikes? There was one, "a small, black horse with the tail cut off, fairly strong and able". This was probably the "black horse" which van Riebeeck took for himself. He called it "Vos". The Journal of the Cape records its death in 1663.

When van Riebeeck left the Cape in 1662 there were only 44 horses in the settlement. However, they were beginning to breed, and two mules had also been born.

The duty of the Mounted Guard was to keep the Hottentots outside the palisades, and to see that if a Hottentot entered the settlement it was only through the barrier at the redoubt Keert de Koe. The mounted men were also authorised to search freemen's houses if they had reason to suspect that Hottentots were being invited there to barter cattle, or for any other purpose; and they were required to ensure that the freemen's cattle was not grazed out of bounds, lest it be stolen by Hottentots and cause a nuisance.

As the settlement expanded Company's outposts, manned by men of the garrison, were created wherever the Company wanted a cattle station or new settlers needed protection. The settlement expanded very slowly. With the exception of the station at Saldanha Bay, built to guard against the intrusion of the French and as protection for the fishermen there, it was twenty years (1672) before either the Company or the freemen occupied land further northward or eastward than the near neighbourhood of Table Bay. Garrison men, and sometimes freemen with them, cattle bartering, or garrison men seeking Monomatapa to invite the fabled emperor to trade with the Cape; or seeking (and finding) the Namaqua Hottentots—who were reported to have more copper than the Company could offer them—had travelled as far as the mouth of the Olifants River to the north and the Gouritz River to the east in twenty years, but the settlement itself remained confined to the Table valley.

In 1671 the Commissioner, Isbrand Goske (sent in the following year to command the Cape during a period of war), had an examination made of the district already known as Hottentots' Holland, and of False Bay to find a roadstead to serve it—possibly one also serviceable to the Company's fleets.

The Company needed more pasturage; more land for growing corn and breeding cattle. After twenty years the freemen were still far from supplying the Company with enough to satisfy its needs. Hottentots' Holland had been known of as a fruitful spot since June 1657 when three freemen, informed doubtless by Cape Hottentots of its existence, set off without van Riebeeck's knowledge (as he takes care to remark), marched for fifteen hours and found "a beautiful river", and some five to six hundred Hottentots encamped on its banks. The river was "thickly studded with bitter almond trees and in such a fine, moist valley to which those of the Cape bear no comparison".

The Hottentots, so the freemen reported, declared that the place was "their Holland". (Little did the hint avail them!) Hottentots' Holland in name it was to remain ever after.

In July 1663 garrison men were sent there to barter for cattle from the Chainouqua chief Sousoa, who himself visited the fort before van Riebeeck left, and who for long before that had permitted his tribesmen to trade cattle there. (His principal habitat was the district of the river Zonder Eind and south of it, to be overtaken by a Company's post and the first European graziers — van der Heiden and Appel of Tas's diary — who approached his territory along the river not very long after Willem Adriaan van der Stel's time.) The Company took possession of the district in 1672, paying a couple of Chainouqua headmen a few pounds' worth of merchandise for it. Sergeant Cruijthoff was sent to erect a stone redoubt, a dwelling-house and cattle-pens. When the place was in working order several freemen were granted loan lands to live as graziers along the banks of the Eerste River. Husing and Elberts were two of them. In 1676 the Tygerberg was found to be a good spot for making hay and Company's men were sent there. Stellenbosch, Drakenstein, Waveren (Tulbagh) were settled in turn with an increasing number of Company's outposts.

Outpost men might be soldiers or sailors. Their daily duties were those of husbandmen, fishermen, sawyers, herdsmen; all the manual labour, in fact, the need of which brought the post into existence, or which was attached to it after it was established as a guard-house for any particular district.

If trouble occurred it was the duty of outpost men to send a message to the Castle, when, if necessary, they would be strengthened by men from the garrison. Detachments of burgher militia came to be employed increasingly as auxiliary to a detachment from the garrison—providing an equal number of men—the command of the expedition under the officer from the garrison.

Finally, the burgher militia was entrusted to send out (with permission) its own commandoes in pursuit of runaway slaves and Hottentot or Bushmen cattle raiders. The burgher commando, which established the Company's practice of employing the militia as an independent force, did not go out until 1715, but emancipation was already foreshadowed in 1702, just at the close of the first half-century. We have, therefore, another sign of transition at this period. This particular trend was eventually to lead to distant border men who would go out on commando as they saw fit against all comers aboriginal.

We must presently consider the events which arose in 1702, and the immediate and more distant causes of that Hottentot disturbance, for the sort of campaign which they reveal was a repetition of all the defence which the Cape was called upon to

exercise from 1652-1795. But before we do so let us at this point, when the burgher soldier is in process of taking over inland from the Company the lion's share, glance back at the history of the militiaman.

In van Riebeeck's time the small company of militia paraded at the fort every Sunday morning. The first sergeant was Stephen Jansz Botma of Wageningen, who came to the Cape as a sailor. He was, so van Riebeeck tells us, "well acquainted with tobacco culture", and was among the first grantees of land. He was also nominated at that time by the Commissioner the Governor-General of Netherlands India, van Goens, as the first burgher councillor.

The first two corporals were Herman Remajenne of Cologne, a coppersmith by trade, who landed as an arquebusier and was also one of the first grantees of land; and Wouter Cornelisz Mostert, the miller.

In 1671 we hear of the burgher militia as a company of ninety-three men. By this time, like the garrison, they had attained the dignity of a lieutenant and an ensign. They paraded four times a year at the Castle. Each man received a small payment to compensate him for loss of time upon his farm or in his workshop. After the parade the ranks were regaled with a glass of wine and their officers given a snack to eat in addition.

The following year, when war broke out against Holland, the force (slightly reduced to ninety) was divided into two companies, and a second lieutenant was appointed. They built a little timber fort in record time on the site where "Duinkoop", van Riebeeck's old redoubt on the beach had been demolished. Mostert became the additional lieutenant. Diemer, the tailor, another steady character, took his place as lieutenant at the end of the year when Mostert, not for the first time, was appointed burgher councillor. (Diemer himself took his turn as a burgher councillor as regularly. We find his son active in Tas's diary.)

In 1676 the Directorate desired to be rid of the obligation to pay the members of the burgher militia the customary six dollars a head after the parade. In place of payment it was ordered that they should be more generously regaled. Half a leaguer of Spanish wine, 300 lbs. of biscuit, and a case of pork met the case, and doubtless worked out cheaper at cost price than a distribution of money.

Simon van der Stel did much to bring the burgher forces to a state of efficiency. In 1687 he also instituted a Boys Brigade. He was exercised in his mind about the lack of discipline in general and wished to catch the future burgher young. Every lad

over nine years of age was ordered to drill every Saturday morning and to be trained in the use of arms. Parents were fined if they could not produce sufficient excuse for a boy's absence. At sixteen the boy became enrolled in the burgher forces.

Burghers had always risked a fine for non-appearance on parade but now fines were strictly imposed if men failed to appear. When Simon van der Stel founded the settlements of Stellenbosch and Drakenstein new companies of horse and foot were formed. The annual parade at Stellenbosch developed into one of the most picturesque events of the time.

Stellenbosch was the pride of the Governor's heart and he always spent his birthday there—October 14th—and took the parade. He inaugurated a kermis, or fair, which began on October 1st and came to an end on the 14th. A few days before the 14th his pavilion was pitched upon the scene and he enquired into the progress of the place and dealt with the people's needs.

As part of the military exercises of this gay fortnight target practice took pride of place. The Governor emphasised the importance of good marksmanship. (He even modified the game laws to foster it.) The principal target was a clay or wooden bird called a parrot or popinjay (Papegaai). It was fixed to a pole and at sixty paces the competitors were circled round it and shot from the circumference. Prizes were awarded, varying in value according to which part of the bird's anatomy was shot away: four shilling for the head down to sixpence for a splinter. The final shot which brought down the stump of the object earned the marksman the title of "King" and the prize of £5. His fellows saluted him and bore him home in triumph. (The rules for this exercise will be found on page 218-9 Kaapse Plakkaatboek, by M. K. Jeffreys.) It must have been an old pastime in Holland, for it is one of the amusements delineated in Pieter van Breughal's picture "Boerenkermis" (Farmers' Fair).

In 1699, as the number of burghers was increasing, the Company of the Cape (that is to say, of the peninsula) was divided into two. Henning Husing became captain of the new company, Hendrik Sneewind lieutenant, and Adam Tas ensign. (This was before his marriage and removal to Stellenbosch.) Changes were also made in the officers of the old company. The ex-burgher councillor, Jan de Beer, who "for many years filled the place of Captain of Infantry with great credit", was old now and requested his discharge. Gerrit Victor, who had been ensign for many years, was old, too. Cornelis Botma was appointed captain; Willem Mensing, the brewer, lieutenant, and Dirk van Schalkwyk ensign.

"When parade ended," concludes the record, "all were regaled with some wine."

During Willem Adriaan van der Stel's time the country districts also acquired second companies of infantry.

At the time of Tas's diary the Stellenbosch popinjay was threatened with abolition. This was brought about by quarrelling amongst the officers and disturbances on parade. When the old Governor, Simon van der Stel, retired from office his presence at the parade was replaced by "commissioners" (a couple of senior Company's servants) whom Willem Adriaan considered should sufficiently represent the Government. He himself went annually to Constantia—his father's farm—to pay birthday respects to his father.

The trouble began at the fair of 1701 when a man caused a disturbance by refusing to march under the banner of his officer—Botma of Tas's diary. He refused to be quieted even when the commissioners arrived, one of whom was the sturdy old Olaf Bergh, Captain of the Garrison. Bergh at last struck him with his cane to bring him to his senses, upon which the man threatened him with his cutlass if he should repeat the blow. He then fired into the dust before three troopers who were bearing him away to custody.

Feeling was running even higher in militia circles when the time approached for the parade in the following year. At first the Governor ordered that the parade should take place at the Cape, but relented, "as the people at Stellenbosch were accustomed annually to fire at the parrot it will be expedient to keep this custom alive". (Possibly old Simon van der Stel had a hand in the reprieve.) Changes were made in the appointment of officers when the services of Ferdinandus Appel (as Lieutenant of Cavalry) and of Jan Elbertz (as Cornet) were "declined". Hercules du Pree (Pré) became Lieutenant of Cavalry and Pieter Robbertsz Captain; Pieter van der Bijl became captain of the first company of infantry, Jacobus van der Heiden lieutenant, and Wessel Pretorius ensign. The second company of infantry retained its old officers: Barend Burchard, captain; François du Toit, lieutenant; Gerrit Cloete, ensign.

In 1703 permission was obtained to hold the parade as usual. In 1704 the burghers requested the Governor's presence, but he civilly refused the invitation, regretting that he must delay his visit to a date more convenient. In 1705 the High Council of India put a spoke in the wheel of parade ceremony both at Stellenbosch and at the Castle. The Governor was instructed that the

expense of regaling the companies with food and drink must cease. The Council of Policy at the Cape discussed the whole matter and unanimously decided that all companies, Cape and Country, should parade annually at the Castle, coming a company at a time.

This order produced another scene at Stellenbosch. A number of the militiamen, among whom no officers but headed by a drummer and accompanied by the wives of Wessel Pretorius and Pieter van der Bijl ("the women are worse than the men," groaned the young landdrost, Starrenberg) marched into the village and demanded of the landdrost why they should not have their customary parade. The incident hardly improved their chances. That year and the next they paraded at the Cape.

In 1708 Willem Adriaan's successor permitted the parade to take place again at Stellenbosch—"shooting at the parrot to be allowed provided that the burghers themselves pay the expenses and conduct themselves properly".

Tas's diary mentions a meeting of the Stellenbosch-Drakenstein "Krygsraad", or Military Council. As Mentzel tells us, the burghers' krygsraad bore no heavy responsibility. It might do nothing so important as to make changes in their officers, or to disrate men without reference to the Governor in Council. Its principal function was the imposition of fines for trifling breaches of discipline: "the money usefully expended upon drums, or as gratuities to the hautboy players and the trumpeters lent by the Governor on the annual holiday".

2.

When the burgher militia reached the stage of sending out its own commandoes without garrison support it was all in the interest of the Company, even if it also satisfied the burghers' desire for direct action. The Company gave the men their ammunition. For the rest, they had to supply themselves: guns, waggons, horses, commissariat. A very satisfactory arrangement for the Company, for it kept the garrison intact and saved much trouble and expense. Efforts of garrison men to track down cattle-thieves in the mountains after the toilsome march from the fort were apt to be abortive. Moreover, and because of this, farmers were apt to take the law into their own hands, even if the militia shared the labours of the garrison. (One of the farmers did so in 1702.) Speed was the essential thing in reacting to a raid. By the time messengers had been sent this way and that, the Castle had made its heavy preparations, and the punitive expedition had arrived upon the scene, cattle and thieves were miles away, and who knew in what direction?

It is commonly believed that cattle-raiding and personal attack on the part of the Hottentot and the Bushman were an ever-present danger in the early settlement. This was not so. In actual fact, acts of hostility and the number of European lives lost at the hand of the Hottentot were negligible compared with the cost of European occupation of other lands. In Africa it was not until the European met the Bantu, the savage professional warrior, that he paid the price of usurpation. When the Hottentot was guilty of acts of hostility on any scale which called forth a punitive expedition he most often had good reason for it. He had himself been robbed or ill-treated by irresponsible Europeans. Taken as a whole, the Hottentot was a submissive and well-disposed human creature. Had he not been, van Riebeeck's settlement would never have survived, for there were many thousands of Hottentots within marching distance of the fort.

The Bushman was less accountable, and towards the end of the 17th century the farmlands approached his mountain fastnesses, or the mountains to which he could retreat. Though the Hottentot made use of him as a spy and auxiliary he was liked no better by the Hottentot than by the European. He was the Ishmael of the southern continent. He had no tribal life, no cattle. He would steal a beast to eat if he had the opportunity. He moved about in a family group, very small, affecting certain areas as his hunting grounds. He used poisoned arrows, which the Hottentot did not, and was capable of malice either through fear or the sense of every man's hand against him. He was a pigmy, and from somewhere had brought the tradition of cave art. He was the vanishing survival of a dark age, and none has been able entirely to account for him.

Unfortunately, as European occupation progressed his scanty numbers had been augmented by impoverished and detribalised Hottentots, so that the term "Bushman" as related to cattle-thieves became somewhat loose, and might apply to Hottentots who had come to live the life of Bushmen, and among the Bushmen. The terms would become even looser in later years when further impoverishment and decay of the Hottentot tribes accompanied further European penetration.

Up to 1702 the Hottentots had caused the settlers only two periods of real anxiety. In 1702 a situation arose comparable to the determined though abortive attempt of the Peninsula Hottentots to resist van Riebeeck's encroachments upon their pasture lands; and to a period of unrest, 1671-7, when an attack upon the Company's post at Saldanha Bay and the murder of farmers hunting on

the Berg River expressed the Hottentot's, and now the Bushman's, resentment against European trespass upon their preserves further inland.

The outbreak which arose in 1702 was the direct result of considerable penetration by men who, by virtue of the new privilege proclaimed in 1700, had been bartering for cattle freely with the Hottentots for two years, and who committed serious acts of violence. Tribes so distant that they had never been in touch with the Company were terrified and robbed, as well as tribes nearer at hand.

A headman named Gonnema (his tribe originally a section of the Saldanhas) was at first held to blame as the moving spirit behind the reprisals, but then Namaquas and Griquas were discovered to have had a hand in them. The Hottentots were so disturbed it was difficult to say who, or if any particular headman, was the ringleader.

It may, at any rate in the first instance, have been Gonnema. During the trouble of the 'seventies Gonnema was held to blame for the murder in 1671 of two freemen out hunting on the Berg River—a deed reported at the fort by emissaries of Kuijper the Chainouqua, who gave it as his opinion that Gonnema had instigated Bushmen to the deed. He was blamed again when a third hunter was killed; when in '73 the outpost at Saldanha Bay was attacked and two soldiers lost their lives, and when a party of eight freemen, who, without a permit, had gone out ostensibly to hunt, were surrounded and killed. Finally, Gonnema was blamed for the last assault in 1676 when three freemen out hunting on the Breede River were killed.

It was Gonnema whom the commandoes attacked. Yet people came to believe in years to come that the charge might be unjust. While the party of eight men yet lived, surrounded in some spot, tribesmen of Gonnema's came to warn the fort of their danger. It was not even certain that the scene of the murders was on Gonnema's territory, or, if it were, whether his own kraals were encamped there at the time. Possibly Bushmen committed the murders. It can never be known, nor can it be known whether these freemen were guiltless of offence, or whether they all suffered for the bullying of one or two.

Certainly the Governor found it necessary to instruct the officer in command of garrison men, sent out to barter for cattle, to keep an eye upon freemen out hunting for they engaged in illicit barter. Freemen bartering always led to trouble. The men were such a mixed lot. There were those amongst them who thought

nothing of making a Hottentot drunk before he set about business, and of using violence if he could not get his way. Such men did these things on their farms along the Liesbeeck, and when they went inland did it with less chance of being discovered.

A brief calendar of events taken from the Journals from 1663 to 1671, when the first two freemen were murdered, will give some idea of the *quid pro quo* between Hottentot and European at the period. (For previous to 1663 see "Van Riebeeck and the Hottentots", page 171.)

'64. Three freemen fined for stealing a Hottentot cow. Hottentots a nuisance round the fort with impudent behaviour. They are encamped south of the settlement and penetrate the hedge which surrounds it, barring them from their old pasturage. When a soldier threatened them they wrench away his musket and hit him with it. They throw sticks and stones and "grow bolder every day". Such of them as could be got to respond to the Commander's order to hear what he had to say about all this were threatened with banishment to Robben Island.

'66. Gonnema is bartering cattle at the fort.

'67. Gonnema and Kuyper bartering at the fort. Schacher, chief of the Capemen, is engaged to barter with other Hottentots on behalf of the Company.

Expedition from the fort to barter with the Hessaquas, at their habitat, which was to become in later years the Swellendam district.

It is found that the freemen continue "shamefully to spoil trade" in cattle by illicit dealing, and the Company finds difficulty in getting cattle.

'68. Company establishes proper kraals for its cattle grazing in the Hout Bay valley. Company's cattle grazing in this valley was a further encroachment upon Hottentot grazing south of the settlement. Gonnema is discovered to be herding in secret, at the behest of freemen, cattle illicitly bartered.

Namaquas, who in '62 had expressed a desire that soldiers should not penetrate inland, attack the outpost at Saldanha Bay and wound two or three men. The corporal in charge (who is also responsible for barter) composes the matter without assistance.

The outposts upon the Liesbeeck lands of the freemen farmers, which had fallen into disuse since van Riebeeck's time as unnecessary in defence against the Hottentot, are remanned in order to prevent the farmers from engaging in cattle barter.

A bartering expedition goes by sea to Mossel Bay to barter for the first time with the Hottentots of that region.

The "best conducted" of the freemen are invited to accompany the Commander (Borgherst) and the Fiscal (Cretzer) to examine the fertile area of Hottentots Holland with the intention of annexing it.

- '69. Corporal Croese leads a bartering expedition to the Hessaquas and to the Ubiquas, "a tribe never yet visited, near the Hessaquas". When he arrives at the kraals of the Ubiquas they will not sell their cattle. They pilfer from the soldiers' camp and, as Croese reported it, "robbed our cattle barterers named Sonquas of all their cattle, and thus destroyed our trade with that tribe". [Sonquas was the Hottentot name for Bushmen. If the men Croese writes of were really Bushmen their possessing cattle was unusual and they are likely to have stolen it. The only other supposition is that they were trading on behalf of Hottentots who would not themselves discover their kraals to the soldiers.] In retaliation for the Ubiquas' theft and interference Croese seized all their cattle. The Journal does not relate that he also deliberately shot down four of them.

Three freemen, all landowners, are fined on their return from hunting for stealing twelve head of cattle. The cattle were owned by Gonnema tribesmen.

- '70. The new Commander, Hackius, arrives, and Schacher comes to the fort to pay his respects.

A French ship comes into the Bay and there is anxiety about its presence. Forty Hottentots come to the fort and offer their help at night—presumably as spies—"if the French wished to seize" the fort.

Hottentots are encamped with their flocks and herds "from the Wijnberg as far as behind the Steenberg". Gonnemas are pilfering from farmhouses left unattended.

- '71. The first two freemen are murdered.

A freeman's twelve-year-old son stabs a Hottentot child. . . .

No freeman lived outside the peninsula at the time of this trouble in the 'seventies, but provided they had a permit all might go out on hunting expeditions for hippo on the Berg and Breede rivers in order to salt the flesh down and provide for their families. It was a territory regularly occupied by Hottentots. They set up their kraals along the banks of the river and remained there, grazing their animals, until it was time to move off to fresh pasturage for another period. Gonnema and his tribe were to be

found there at the appointed seasons. That Gonnema and the other Hottentots who used this pasturage resented European intrusion cannot be counted out as a cause of the murders. It was less than ten years ago when numbers of Cape Hottentots, expelled by van Riebeeck from pasturage in the peninsula, had joined themselves to Gonnema's tribe. They must have foreseen what the apparition of Europeans on the river portended. Not only was their land in danger but they were becoming subject again to the pestering nuisance of being forced to part with their cattle whether they would or not. They never wanted to part with it on any great scale, especially their cows. But they would barter willingly to a reasonable extent if men dealt fairly by them. It was exceptional for garrison men out bartering to meet any danger from them. The soldiers' errand was perfectly well understood, and the official standing of the expedition. It is significant that just after the first two freemen were killed in '71 Corporal Cruijthoff and his men were sent inland to barter for the approaching fleet and, as the Journal records: "He had not the least evil encounter with the Hottentots".

Gonnema made peace in June 1677. Three times a punitive expedition of 100 armed and mounted men had been sent out to track him down, 50 from the garrison and 50 burgher militia, and with them a host of Hottentots. The Hottentot auxiliaries had been led by Dorha, the Chainouqua, whom the Dutch called Claas. The Hottentot host was another aspect of the developing scene which caused despair to the Hottentot who clung to the life of his fathers. The Company was employing Hottentot against Hottentot. The Commander had even attempted in the first place to get the Hottentot headmen who were friendly to the fort to take on the campaign itself, with the promise of soldiers to give a hand, and a handsome share of Gonnema's cattle as a reward. But this direct action they had on various excuses avoided. They did, however, act as the advance guard of the soldiers and freemen, and as spies.

Even so, when Gonnema's camps were located first here and now there, and by the time the European force had caught up with its Hottentot auxiliaries, the enemy had fled. This invariably happened. Gonnema always escaped. Some of the Hottentot auxiliaries were killed when the shave was close enough, that was all. A hawk-eyed Bushman on a hill-top was quite close enough to warn Gonnema where a hundred armed Europeans were clattering about the veld.

In '73 the shave was so close that Gonnema was mulcted of 800 head of cattle and 900 sheep which his tribesmen could not drive away in time, and some Gonnemas were killed in trying to save the beasts. The freemen benefited from the distribution to them of a share of this booty. Schacher and Kuijper caught four Gonnemas hovering about their kraals, bent probably upon robbing them as Company's lick-spittles—though, indeed, Kuijper and Schacher were hardly that. They brought the captives to the fort and they were convicted of being implicated in the murder of the eight freemen. The Court of Justice delivered them over to the Hottentot mob to be lynched, and they were beaten to pulp with knobkerries under the shadow of the fort. (A variant of the European punishment of breaking on the wheel.)

Again and again, however, during the three expeditions the Hottentot spies went backwards and forwards bringing news of failure or guiding the soldiers to camps deserted the day before, until the men grew impatient and wondered whether their spies were playing them false. It was possible. Such a thing had been known in van Riebeeck's day—at the critical moment Hottentot failed to betray Hottentot.

On the second expedition the spies returned once with the story of a conversation which they had overheard (doubtless intended for their ears) between two Bushmen spies employed by Gonnema. One asked the other: "What kind of Hottentots are these who tread so quietly? There must be Dutchmen about!"

On the last expedition some of Gonnema's tribe were actually persuaded to approach the soldiers. By this time the situation had become almost farcical, and the opportunity might have been taken to convey to Gonnema some message of constructive truce, when the true story of the murders might have come out, the actual offenders brought to book by placing the onus of this responsibility upon the Hottentots on pain of renewed pursuit. The Hottentot was well able to appreciate justice. But this was not done. The Gonnemas cheerfully informed the soldiers that they had known for several days that the expedition was leaving the fort. So much for secret exits from the fort at night!

However, the third expedition succeeded in punishing Gonnema so heavily that he capitulated. His last escape was so close that in this raid 1,600 head of cattle and 4,900 sheep fell as spoils to the Company. He sent his emissaries to the fort, and through them peace was arranged.

It was significant that he did not come to the fort himself. Gonnema had a long memory. He remembered the indiscriminate

persecution which had followed the killing of a European at the Cape in years past, and comprehended a judicial attitude of mind which made it so much greater a crime for a Hottentot to kill a European in any circumstances than for a European to kill a Hottentot. He had known a man to be lured to the fort by promises of entertainment and to be held prisoner. He had even known men to be imprisoned who numbered amongst those invited to make a treaty of peace.

A few years after Gonnema had made peace (he lived, by the way, until 1685) we read in the records: "Everywhere the Hottentots are on good terms with the Europeans".

So it was to continue until 1702. Every now and then, when the farmers first moved out to Drakenstein, now the fringe of the expanding colony, Bushmen sneak-thieves would descend upon a herd to drive off the wherewithal for a feast. Now and then, too, they took a life. Charles Marais, the Huguenot, was killed by a Bushman in 1689.

The period of Simon van der Stel's office (1679-99) was temperate in his management of the aborigines. The future scene was beginning to take firm shape when he came into office. Hottentot headmen might be depended upon to provide cattle and to remain on friendly terms with the Government. They were called "captains" and bore a staff of office engraved with the Company's insignia. The Government endeavoured to keep the peace between the various tribes and to allay jealousy and suspicion between the outer Hottentot and the Hottentot favoured of the Government.

One incident is particularly worth recording. It occurred in 1689. Namaquas, Griquas, and Saldanhas were at loggerheads. Namaquas and Griquas crossed the Olifants River and attacked the Saldanhas. The Saldanhas regarded themselves as under the protection of the Government. The wise old chief, Oedaso, had always kept on the safer side in dealing with the European and had never offended. He appealed for help. Van der Stel, discreetly enough, was hesitant to interfere between Hottentot and Hottentot. His aim, furthering the attempts of his immediate predecessors, had been to get them to submit their disputes to him before sending out punitive raiding expeditions against one another, which was their form of warfare. However, when Namaquas and Griquas descended again the following year upon the Saldanhas, and caused again some alarm among the freemen at the rumour of thousands of Hottentots too near their borders, he sent up some forty men from the garrison to preserve order.

They took a heavy toll of cattle as booty. When the Namaquas and Griquas sued for pardon he returned the cattle. For once it was made clear to the Hottentot that the Europeans were not cattle-raiding under the guise of something else. It must too often have seemed that they were; that they returned an injury, or found excuse for cherishing an injury, harming the innocent with the guilty; punishing a whole tribe for the act of one man perhaps; driving off cattle in revenge wherever they could find it, because after all, it was cattle they wanted.

In 1685 Simon van der Stel made the long journey—over 300 miles—to visit the Namaquas, travelling in a magnificent cavalcade such as the South African veld never saw before nor after. Men of the garrison had blazed the trail all but the last lap—to the Copper Mountains (Ookiep district).

3.

It was a great pity that free barter was sanctioned in 1700. The colony as a whole was not ready for it. Of what smaller parties of men did between 1700 and 1702 we have no record, but the parties grew in size, travelled farther and farther inland, reaching even the Bantu, until the expeditions culminated in a party of 45 men with 45 Hottentot servants and interpreters, who were away for seven months. They were provisioned by Jacobus van der Heiden and Ferdinandus Appel of Tas's diary, and others,

The story is best told from the confessions of six of the men (a Netherlander, a Rhinelander, an Afrikaner, a Russian, and two Germans) who were apprehended, and some of the Hottentots who accompanied them. David Pannesmith was one of the party, mentioned like others in Tas's diary: Lambert, nicknamed Besemboutie; Tieleman Visser; Piet Tambour; C. Jansz, alias Bombam—whose garden Tas appears to have inherited.

They set forth sworn not to inform against one another—the oath written in the fly-leaf of a book entitled "*De Christelijke Zeevaart*".

Questioning revealed a new technique in dealing with the Hottentot which saved haggling over price. The men ambushed themselves at night outside the chosen kraal. At daybreak they fired into it. Sometimes fleeing Hottentots were killed, "many", in fact, including women and children. The deserted cattle fell as easy plunder to the men.

From one tribe they took 2,200 head of cattle and 2,500 sheep. Of these they returned 400 head of cattle and 600 sheep, the

Hottentots having pleaded that they might be left with "some cattle for their necessities".

For guides they seized at one stage two or three Bushmen from a kraal they chanced upon, bound them, and dragged them along with them. For this purpose they even visited the same violence upon five Chainouquas.

Some of these guides managed to escape and sped to warn the Kaffirs whose territory the party was now approaching. Hence it was that a party of Kaffirs set forth to intercept them. A fight took place. A freeman was killed. How many Kaffirs were killed it was not possible to ascertain. The freemen would not confess to the "large number" which the Hottentots described. Nor would the freemen admit the truth of the Hottentots' assertion that captured Kaffirs were handed over for execution to the Hottentot "captain" of the freemen's band of Hottentots and clubbed to death.

In October 1705 the Landdrost of Stellenbosch, Starrenberg, was sent inland with a part of garrison men to barter for cattle. He visited Namaquas, Griquas, Gonnemas. He came across more than one group of kraals the men of which were unable to barter for they were bereft of cattle. They were still alarmed by memories of freemen attacks "several years ago". He asked the men of one kraal how it was they had so little cattle. He seems to have hit upon a kraal which sheltered a group guilty of cattle-raiding. The story is worth telling, as it clearly reveals what happened when the Hottentot was ruthlessly impoverished, and what was at the back of the raids which erupted in 1702.

They explained that a few years ago a drunken freeman with some others had arrived at their kraals, "and without saying anything had fired upon them from all sides, driving them away, firing their huts, and taking away all their cattle. They did not know why, because they had never injured any Hollanders".

They went on to explain that then, having lost all their cattle, they were obliged to steal wherever they could. "With what they obtained they fled into the mountains and lived on the booty as long as it lasted. They then went out for some more cattle. In this they were successful a few times, but now they possessed little."

• "Thus," Starrenberg continues his report, "the whole country is spoilt . . . when one kraal is deprived of its cattle by the Dutch it turns and robs another . . . from a contented people divided into kraals under chiefs and peacefully supporting themselves with their cattle they have mostly all been changed into Bushmen,

hunters, robbers, and scattered everywhere and among the mountains."

Making some allowance for exaggeration (for not "the whole" country suffered to the same extent and Hottentots sometimes raided one another), we appreciate none the less what an advance these few years had made in the disintegration of Hottentot existence.

The first warning which the settlement received in 1702 of trouble ahead was a raid upon Gerrit Cloete's farm near Riebeeck Kasteel, one of the farthest of outlying farms.

When the report of the raid reached the Castle through the Landdrost of Stellenbosch the Governor sent out a commando to the Land of Waveren: 12 men under a sergeant from the garrison, and 50 of the burgher militia under the landdrost. Their orders were to capture the marauders; if possible, to round up the stolen cattle; and to shoot any Hottentot who resisted capture. The expedition was completely abortive. Neither marauders nor stolen cattle were anywhere to be found.

While the commando was still in the field the Company's herds at the Waveren post were twice raided and Cloete robbed a second time. The Governor strengthened the outposts at Waveren, Drakenstein, and Vogels Vallei.

In June the news came to the fort that the headman Claas had been killed at the kraals of the headman Kuijper in an argument about an ox. This was not the whole explanation. The event was the climax of the long feud between these two Chainouquas in competition for the Company's favours, complicated by the fact that years before, when Simon van der Stel had punished Claas, Kuijper had appropriated Claas's wife. Though the woman had submitted willingly in the beginning she sought later to return to Claas and Kuijper had killed her. It is possible that Kuijper now suspected Claas of coming to his kraals to spy, and would report it if he found any of his tribesmen harbouring strange cattle.

The punitive expedition having failed, the Governor in Council decided to summon to the Castle all the headmen or "captains" of the Company's Hottentot allies, and propose to them that with the help of men from the garrison they should lead out their own people to track down the thieves and to round up the cattle. Some of the cattle belonged to them themselves, for the Company's Hottentots had suffered.

The captains agreed on condition that a certain Captain Kees, whose military tactics they appeared most to admire, should lead them as their general in command.

Captain Kees was not forthcoming. A corporal, sent to the Tygerberg (where Kees was supposed to be encamped) to fetch him, returned with the message that a certain freeman had got together a commando of his own and had taken Kees and a detachment of Kees's men with him. Kees, as a Company's Hottentot, had been a victim of the raiders.

"They had proceeded," the story went on, "towards the Hottentots who had stolen their cattle, in order to despoil them and other kraals of that nation of their cattle and thus revenge themselves for the loss sustained."

To remark, quoting the Journal, that "this displeased the Governor" appears to be an understatement. He sent out an order to the Landdrost of Stellenbosch for the freeman's arrest. The Landdrost—Ditmar—was not diligent in this, and had not been diligent in much oversight which he should have exercised. (Presently he lost his job—hence the temporary appointment of Robberts, whom Tas clowns in his diary.)

The freeman appears to have eluded penalty in the general mêlée which followed. Several more cattle raids took place, both upon the Company's stations and the farms. Sorties went out to recover the cattle and were sometimes successful. Men defended their own herds and did battle sometimes when Hottentots were caught in the act.

Husing was given a sergeant and twelve men to defend his vast herds at the Groenekloof. Sporadic raiding went on for nearly three years. Three freemen were killed, a soldier, and many Hottentots.

On 3rd September 1705 the Little Namaquas sued for peace. In November Captain Kuyper appeared at the Castle with emissaries from the Bushmen, and for whomsoever that now elastic term might embrace.

The Governor granted them all peace on condition that raiding ceased. He sealed the pact with a feast and presents of beads and tobacco.

Thus the trouble ended.

In December 1706 the Journal records: "Everywhere we are living in peace and quiet with the Hottentots".

In actual fact, the disintegration of the tribes—begun with the smaller tribes by van Riebeeck, and steadily progressing by depletion of cattle and the poison of the drink which bought so much of it, was very nearly complete.

In May 1713 an epidemic of smallpox broke out which took a heavy toll of the settlers and decimated the Hottentots within

the Company's jurisdiction. Many of them, fleeing inland from infection, were killed in terror of infection by the tribes they fled to. As the borders of the settlement widened future commandoes of armed farmers would go out, and the story of raid and counter-raid be repeated until no Hottentot any longer had an independent existence.

[The earlier chapters in the story of Defence may be read under the head: "Van Riebeeck and the Hottentots", page 171.]

PERIODS OF WAR, 1652-1707, IN WHICH HOLLAND INVOLVED.

1652-54—First war with England.

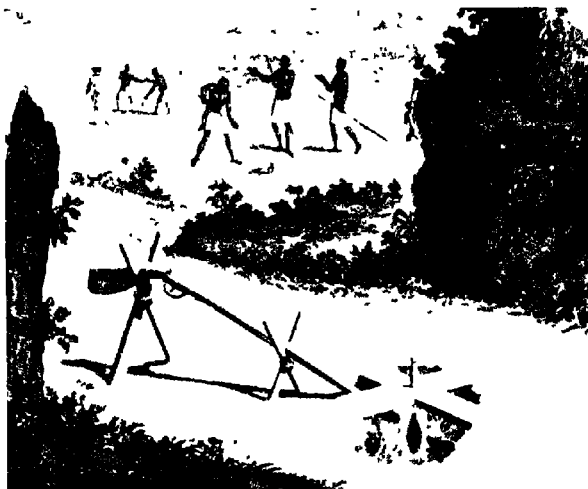
1658-60—With Sweden.

1665-67—Second war with England.

1672-78—War against England, France, Munster, and Keulen. Peace with all except France '74; with France '78. (In 1677 marriage of the Prince of Orange to Princess Mary Stuart of England.)

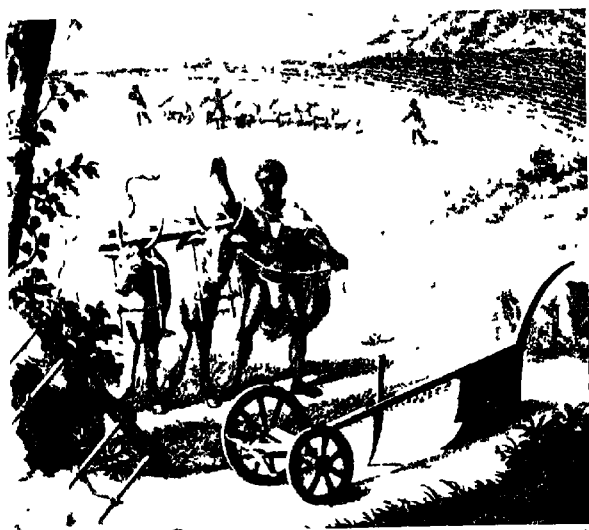
1688-97—War with France. (1689 Prince of Orange and Mary Stuart crowned King and Queen of England.)

1702 —War of the Spanish Succession. Peace of Utrecht 1713.



Photograph by Arthur Elliott from Kolbe

A GUN-TRAP



*From an illustration in Peter Kolbe's book
Naamloos van de Kaap
beschrijving*

PLOUGHING AT THE CAPE.

FISHING

Nobody on pain of heavy punishment shall fish without permit by night or day other than in Table Bay.

Nobody shall remove or damage another man's net.

When the first freemen were allotted land in 1657 the Commissioner the Governor-General van Goens forbade their fishing except for the family pot, lest it distract them from growing grain.

Van Riebeeck, however, pointed out to the Directorate that large hauls of harder (Cape herring, and delicious fresh or salted) were necessary to the garrison and the fleets, and in the following year the Directorate gave orders that the freemen should be allowed to fish at will on condition that they sold their surplus to the Company or applied for permit to sell direct to ships or to their fellow-settlers.

In actual fact, van Riebeeck had given effect to this before the formal permission arrived. The result had displeased him, and it is worth quoting the following Resolution in Council of May 1658 which announced the Directorate's order, as an instance of the harsh approach under which the early freemen laboured.

It must be remembered that of these men only a minority understood anything about agriculture; that half of them were quite illiterate, and that, without exception, they were in debt for tools, draught cattle, and rations. The temptation to sell fish or anything else for more than the Company would give them was very great. Not only to lazy men, but also to others who as farmers found themselves to be round pegs in square holes, it was a temptation to seize upon means of making ready money in other ways. True, they had made a bargain with the Company to grow grain in return for their grants of land, but the fact that the land had cost the Company nothing hardly impressed them as its being in itself a gesture of magnanimity. True again, as landowners they were better off than they would have been in their own country, but van Riebeeck, on behalf of the Company, exacted his pound of flesh in a manner hardly calculated to inspire their loyalty, nor does his method appear to have been entirely in tune with the Company's intention.

Here is the resolution:

"The Masters having often ordered us to get in train the harder and other fisheries for feeding the garrison and especially the Return ships, and the freemen having already, somewhat contrary to the instructions left by the Honbl. van Goens, been permitted to fish freely and to sell to the Company at reasonable prices what they have to spare . . . and further observing daily that they pay as great attention to their fisheries as they do to agriculture . . . they look for their greatest profit from the fisheries, selling what they catch at the highest possible price to the public and the ships without offering even one single small fish to the Company. . . .

The Council, bearing in mind the main object to promote agriculture, breed cattle, and catch harders, etc., continue to permit the freemen to fish . . . but forbid them henceforth to sell any kind of fish whatever . . . except to the Company.

This order to include the Saldanha traders [see below] and the Company's servants. . . ."

Follows the fixed price at which fish, other than what they need for their households, shall be sold to the Company.

That van Riebeeck was not always the best judge of Directorate intention is reflected in an order which he received in May 1661. The Directorate deplores the persistent need of rice, for its delivery not only encumbered the return ships, but also signified the station's failure to produce sufficient grain even to support itself. The despatch rebukes van Riebeeck for charging the freemen too much for food which the Cape did provide, and adds: "Fishing is to be free and open to all." Van Riebeeck is to give "a helping hand in all that will not cause too great an expense to the Company".

The second plakkaat under the head of Fishing (about nets) van Riebeeck found necessary in order to eliminate unfair methods among the freemen themselves of reducing competition or of expressing individual grudges.

Van Riebeeck's successor, Wagenaar, established a proper market and directed that fish, among the other produce, should be sold there at a fixed price like everything else.

Simon van der Stel found himself obliged sternly to enforce, "under heavy punishment", the edict forbidding men to fish other than in Table Bay without a permit. It was all part of keeping men within bounds. In 1687, after he had founded the "colony" of Stellenbosch, the farmers petitioned for liberty to fish in False Bay at the mouth of the Eerste River. He granted this provided that men procured a permit from him and paid a rix dollar (4s. 6d.)

into the burgher chest for the benefit of the district. Cape burghers were given the same privilege, but were required to pay two rix dollars to the burgher chest.

In Tas's diary there are several references to fishing and to François van der Stel (Jonker Frans), the younger brother of the Governor. In 1684 the Commissioner of that year, van Goens the younger, granted him letters of freedom, his land, and in addition, game, fowling, and fishing rights which no other burgher enjoyed. He might shoot at will, use a fowling-net, and catch fish in False Bay to his heart's content. No one, even with a Government permit, might come within a certain wide area which these rights reserved. The Lord of Mydrecht, the following commissioner, to whom the Company had given the most extensive powers to do as he thought fit, made no change in this privilege. As time went on, and the burgher community increased, this caused resentment. The diary does not say so, but we suspect that Frans's fellow-burghers poached upon some stretch of beach which he regarded as his preserve. The Directorate ordered Frans out of the colony when his brother was removed from office.

The most important fishing enterprise undertaken by the freemen was located at Saldanha Bay. Soon after van Riebeeck arrived he engaged garrison men in sealing, as well as fishing, in Saldanha Bay and upon Dassen Island. He also had great hopes of whaling at the Cape. Presently, these men discovered that French sealers came into Saldanha Bay and worked there. Van Riebeeck's men knew nothing about sealing nor had they the proper tools for dealing with the skins. They loathed the work and could have liked it no better when van Riebeeck ordered his overseer not to spare the lash. They got the oil, however, and the flesh (Grevenbroek tells us that it tasted like ox meat), which everyone ate at that time of food shortage, with penguins to vary the menu.

Van Riebeeck got his men to persuade a Frenchman or two to desert and join the Company that they might teach the garrison sealers how to go to work. Nothing, however, came of sealskins nor of whaling. The Company was not moved to supply the necessary equipment, although for some time van Riebeeck reports with yearning the frequent apparition of whales in Table Bay, and calculates what might be made out of seal-skins. The Commissioner the Governor-General van Goens in 1657 finally rejected these ideas. Sealing was to continue for the production of train-oil, and for seals' meat as food for the slaves. Incidentally, the slaves also drank the train-oil if they could get it. Van Riebeeck issued a

plakkaat forbidding people to give them the stuff. It made the slaves very ill.

A little redoubt had been built at Saldanha Bay and garrison men were still stationed there, and were also herding sheep on Dassen Island. With this protective background two freemen in January 1658 were permitted to take over the fishing and sealing industry. They purchased from the Company, on account, their own little vessel and plied up and down the coast.

Later on the Saldanha traders had two vessels. In the Journal of 1676 we find that both vessels are old and unfit for work. The men now offer to buy a vessel which the Company has in use on the station, and we read of the following discussion by the Council of Policy about the matter: "Council considers the necessity of keeping the train-oil industry going, both for the benefit of this settlement and for supplying India; and also that the vessel (which the men propose to buy from the Company) is badly built and could be spared without inconveniencing the Company. . . ."

It was sold to the men for f2,300 (£191 13s. 4d.—the guilders at 1s. 8d.).

Johannes Phyffer, the burgher who in 1705 held the much-disputed monopoly for the purvey of Cape wine, was also a Saldanha trader. His boat was wrecked on Dassen Island in July 1706. The Council agreed that he should be allowed to buy a boat from the Company, "his fishing being a great convenience to the public". The boat in view was one which had been brought out in sections from Holland. It proved to be insufficiently seaworthy for work on the Cape coast and in 1708 Phyffer was given permission to load up in the station's galiots whenever there was room.

By 1711 the industry was reckoned of such importance that the Governor discussed with the Commissioner of that year what should be done to expand it and to stabilise such expansion. Phyffer apparently had insufficient capital to enter into a Government contract. The old ex-Governor, Simon van der Stel, made an offer to Phyffer to come in with him. Together they engaged, were they given a monopoly of the trade, to supply salted fish; to run 500 sheep on one of the islands off the coast, and to make a garden there to supply ships which were forced into Saldanha Bay by bad weather or come for repairs; and to deliver gratis to the Company as much train-oil as was required.

This was declared to be a good offer and it was accepted.

GAME

None of the inhabitants, be he Company's servant or freeman, shall hunt from 15th August—15th December without a permit from H.E. the Governor. Permits to be renewed annually; nor may anyone without permit dispose of game or birds to foreign ships.

None of the inhabitants shall shoot hippopotami ("sea-cows") without permission.

Whereas wild animals of the veld are caught by the herdsmen's dogs before they can get away, and whereby the same are sufficiently destroyed and their breeding markedly diminished, and also as experience has taught us that no more game is to be obtained, and in order to prevent this in future as far as practicable, and also that the game may have more freedom, herewith all inhabitants and settlers of this Government are ordered that henceforth no dogs may run behind cattle in the veld without a cudgel 14 inches long by 2 inches thick round its neck. This also to apply to field-cornet's dogs and to anyone with dogs in the veld.

Further plakkaats dealt with the rewards which from the earliest times had been given for the skins of beasts of prey. Lions, leopards, and jackals were a scourge. After fifty years not even the lion was completely scared away from the settlement. Men were discovered to be buying skins from the Hottentots and had to be required to bring proof that their catch was bona fide. For years the Company paid these rewards, but later on they were met out of the burgher chest. In April 1708 we find the burgher councillors complaining that they have to pay out considerable sums to people "who contribute little or nothing to this district, and live far away inland, or lie there with their cattle". They request "that a proper boundary shall be made to define whom we have to pay". Moreover, any claimant in future will have to produce "the whole carcase and not just the skin".

At the outset van Riebeeck, in pursuance of the idea that every source of profit should be controlled by the Company, prohibited his men from shooting or trapping game. It bore hardly upon them, for, as his Journal reveals, the men were half-starved. He appointed an official hunter, who appears to have been unable adequately to supplement the rations of salt meat, penguin, and seal flesh upon which the garrison subsisted during the period when cattle bartered from the Hottentots was scanty and reserved for the fleets. The food situation improved when in 1655 fleets, reluctant to put in at the Cape station (preferring St. Helena) were strictly ordered to refresh at the Cape, and brought succour with them; by which time also the Hottentots were bringing in more cattle.

When the first freemen were settled on the land the Commissioner the Governor-General van Goens prohibited their shooting game or birds other than by permit. It was considered inadvisable that the game should be "frightened by much shooting". A couple of freemen hunters were appointed to make their living by shooting. These men failed to satisfy their fellow-freemen as purveyors. In January 1661 the game laws were so far relaxed as to permit everyone to shoot for the family pot, provided that no one trespassed upon his neighbour's land nor came within three musket shots of the farther side of the Salt River: an area from there southward being reserved for the officially-appointed freemen and Company's hunters.

In 1667 Commander Quaelbergh found it necessary to issue a plakkaat prohibiting freemen from shooting birds, particularly doves, in the Table valley. In 1680 Simon van der Stel, finding that men were slipping over the boundaries under cover of night to shoot, neglecting their farms and unduly scaring and slaughtering the game, enforced the necessity for a permit. He declared a closed season and granted such permit only for the months of March and April, limiting the bag to one hippo, rhino, and eland, destined to be salted down for family consumption.

In January 1688 he withdrew this edict and granted free hunting within the boundaries of the colony. It was a concession which originated in his desire to encourage marksmanship. Two years later he was obliged to withdraw the privilege. Game was being massacred and men knew no bounds. He reverted to the edict of 1680 with the exception that he did not resuscitate a closed season.

In 1693, when he appointed the first field-cornets (*veldwachters*), abuse was still prevalent and he made it part of their duties to see that the game laws were observed.

There were also various plakkaaten and reminders of existing plakkaaten about the setting of traps for beasts of prey, which traps as readily caught game and cattle and were dangerous to men if they were not clearly marked as such.

Van Riebeeck proclaimed the first of such plakkaats in October 1660. Pits, "wide and deep, covered with rushes", were being dug by "wanton persons" with "great malice . . . under the pretext of trapping wild animals". They were dug "where the finest pastures for draught cattle lie".

The digging of pits, therefore, was forbidden. Traps, none the less, were necessary, and every honest man could hardly be prevented from setting them for beasts of prey which ravished his flocks. At the time of Tas's diary lions and leopards ranged about the Stellenbosch district, and as late as 1702 a lion appeared at Woodstock. Gun traps came into use. They might be set provided they were marked with a warning notice. Men were careless about this, and careless about applying for the permit to set them which was also required. Consequently unwary pedestrians and riders were endangered; cattle, sheep, and game still fell to the poacher.

Willem Adriaan van der Stel repeated the orders about traps several times. At last he forbade the setting of traps altogether and reported to the Directorate. The Directorate's reply came in July 1707, after van der Stel's recall: "We do not attach much importance to the danger . . . those who place them are merely to put up some sign . . . and to obtain your consent".

GAMING

No inhabitant shall suffer play with cards or dice in his house.

(Van Riebeeck issued this plakkaat in December 1658 "according to the ordinances and statutes of India . . . all freemen and Company's servants are forbidden to play or gamble. . . .")

Those who are found to have gambled with man or woman slave, outlaw, or any such depraved person, shall over and above . . . fine be imprisoned on bread and water for a week.

In January 1673 the Fiscal was directed to prevent gaming and to keep inns and lodgings under supervision.

Mentzel, writing of social entertainment, tells us that the favourite game in his time was ombre. Tas does not tell us what card games his visitors played. Ombre was a game for three players who used a pack of cards from which the eights, nines, and tens were removed. The game was of the same type as poker.

HOTTENTOTS

Nobody shall hit, push, or in any manner ill-use the Hottentots.

Further, nobody shall buy from them the least goods which are obviously stolen.

Both these edicts were promulgated by van Riebeeck. As the origin and effect of the first is of importance which claims particular attention it has been set forth separately [page 171 *et seq.*]. How the aborigines fared long ago at the approach of the European was much the same in all countries, but we must have our own tale.

The origin of the second is as follows: "Continual complaints" were brought to the fort by ships' people whose laundry, spread out to dry, was stolen. Even under their noses the fleet-footed Hottentots ran off with the things. Investigation established the fact that "Netherlands residents, the good excepted," had a hand in this. They gave the Hottentots some trifle of tobacco or food to steal for them. Van Riebeeck's Journal records the first discovery of this sort of thing in June 1656. An English ship was in and seven pieces of washing were stolen. "On enquiry it was discovered that some of our people had bribed some Hottentots with a little tobacco to steal the stuff."

In the circumstances van Riebeeck's reaction to this was hardly impartial and not a little harsh. Five pieces were "recovered at once", but as two were still missing he ordered that "some of the Hottentots' cattle should be seized tomorrow". Fortunately, Herry the Hottentot interpreter at the fort (not that he himself was above stealing), traced them and brought them back. "The English very grateful": a comment which ended the matter.

With Europeans inciting him to theft it must have been difficult for the Hottentot to appreciate the enormity of his crime in European eyes when he stole on his own account. The laundry case was not the only instance of co-operation in misdemeanour. The Company's workmen, as van Riebeeck recorded, would break the copper off their wheelbarrows in order to barter with the Hottentots for something they wanted, and Hottentot footprints beside a European shoe were apt to be found in the forbidden Company's garden after a theft.

In August 1661 van Riebeeck has again to attack the evil of employing Hottentots to steal laundry. His lengthy plakkaat reads briefly as follows:

" . . . complaints laid before us by the people of the ships . . . Netherlands residents . . . instead of, according to their bounden duty, setting a good example to the savages . . . more and more instigate them to steal the clothing of the ships' companies, yea! to such an extent that the savages do not hesitate to pull the hats and caps off the heads of the visitors and run away with them and afterwards sell them to the Netherlanders . . . therefore, the Commander and Council . . . having considered the great audacity and wantonness of these aforesaid brutal savages in their stealing the said goods, as well as the vile, base, and shameful harbouring of the aforesaid natives by our Netherlanders and then buying the stolen articles, by this expressly forbid all and everyone to accept or buy any goods from the aforesaid natives . . . which are known and can be recognised as having been stolen. . . ."

LIQUOR

No tapster or inn-keeper may serve liquor on Sundays and Holy days before or during Divine Service; neither shall the same serve liquor after the Watch is set.

If anyone is wounded at the house of a tapster the latter shall report the matter instantly, or at least within an hour, to the officer on duty.

Penalty for drawing a knife.

(In van Riebeeck's day inn-keepers were ordered to take charge of everyone's knife on entry.)

If anyone be struck down in the tapster's house the latter shall keep the offender as closely under guard as possible and make the affair known by outcry.

No lessee or inn-keeper may harbour any people of the ships' companies, much less allow them to pass the night.

Anyone who serves drink to or accommodates a member of the garrison after sundown shall be fined. . . .

No servant of the Company shall be found at an inn after sundown.

Whoever sells strong drink to slaves shall be fined . . . and his licence be forever forfeit.

Those who shall be found to have sold or have served brandy, arrack, champu (?) or any strong drink, mum (Strasburg beer), Fatherland beer, or foreign wine, to the prejudice of the Honbl. Company or of the licensed inn-keepers or liquor lessees, shall be fined. . . .

No one shall sell his pressed grapes rinsed with water or otherwise, nor sell husk-beer (dop-beer), nor in any manner give it away.

Without previous permission in writing from H.E. the Governor, and without the permit's having been properly registered at the Secretariat and renewed annually, no one shall sell sugar-beer. (See notes below.)

None of the inhabitants shall serve or sell the least measure by stealth. Likewise, nobody shall in secret or under cover sell any wine or strong drink within the precincts of this fortress, at night or at any season; neither hawk it about; to the end that debauches, difficulties, and mischief, likewise sedition and rebellion which now and then break out among the garrison people, may be prevented. . . .

Yet further to prevent as far as practicable the smuggling of said wine the provost-sergeant together with the Kaffirs, especially authorised therein, shall at all times and hours be empowered to enter the dwellings of all licensed brewers and tapsters, and to inspect whether any people are there to commit fraud with wine or other liquor, without the afore-said brewers or tapsters presuming to prevent or resist the entrance of the provost-sergeant and the Kaffirs.

None of the inhabitants shall make or distill the least brandy from corn. (On pain of being publicly thrashed, branded, and banished, and his goods confiscated.) Likewise none henceforth shall venture to convey to the Cape or within the Castle, nor bring there to sell in any manner, any brandy or other strong drink made or distilled from Cape wine.

The revenue which the Company derived from the sale of liquor was an all-important consideration in compiling the budget of the Cape Government. From the earliest times the Company had considerable difficulty in protecting its commercial rights in this matter. In spite of threats of violent punishment, smuggling to and from the ships, and into and out of private houses and taverns, continued to flourish.

For nearly twenty years after the establishment of the station the tavern-keepers were the retailers of the Company's foreign wine, beer, and spirits. By 1673 there were so many taverns, smuggling so rife, agriculture suffering thereby and the Company's revenue, that the Directorate ordered its Commissioner to reduce the number of taverns, and so to license the sale of liquor that the tavern-keepers were better controlled. Nine taverns were allowed to remain in being and four men were given licences to sell and distribute liquor—each man limited to one or two types of liquor. In 1676 a redoubt was built at the mouth of the Salt River to control the smuggling that went on there.

Smuggling remained a continual nuisance. None the less, the value of the liquor licences steadily increased. They came to be put up for auction every year. The system proved so successful that leases for other things were also put up for auction. Mentzel tells us how this was done. When a lease was being auctioned to supply the Company the bidding was high and descended until the Company accepted the lowest bid it could get. If the bidding was to pay the Company for the privilege of supplying the populace the bidding began low and the Company accepted the highest bid.

In 1674 Cape wine came into the picture as a source of revenue with which the Company might reckon. It was not good wine by any means, but people drank it. Batavia declined to have it off-loaded upon her and the Directorate in Holland was not enthusiastic about the samples of it sent over for an opinion. However, the acreage of vineyards was increasing and something had to be done besides turning the surplus wine into vinegar for the fleets. The Directors wished the wine to attain a quality fit for export. They had waited a long time for this result. The development of viticulture at the Cape had been slow. Van Riebeeck had little success in persuading the freemen to go in for it. He would give them vine-slips and they would grow a few up their houses. They were too poor to expend energy in planting out vineyards which would take several years to mature. At best, they could see no further than the next year's harvest of grain and the hard cash it would bring them, or the reduction of debt, and at worst they did not want to plant at all, they wanted to be graziers.

Van Riebeeck himself plodded on planting and experimenting upon his farm on the Bosheuvel (Wynberg Hill). It was he who pressed the first grapes and we have the entry in his diary on Sunday, February 2nd, 1659: "The day, God be praised, wine pressed for the first time from Cape grapes . . . being mostly muscadel and other round white grapes of very good aroma and flavour; the Spanish grapes being still quite unripe. . . ."

The success of the vineyard at Bosheuvel did make an impression upon the freemen. The better type who were beginning to establish themselves took an interest and ventured to make a trial. In 1664 a certain Pieter Adriaansz—Pieter, the son of Adriaan, we have no surname—a mate in one of the ships of an outward-bound fleet and hailing from Arnheim, brought with him some vine-slips from Germany. The Commander of the Cape (Wagenaar) went with him to the Company's garden and planted them. Pieter also left a model of a wine-press from which the Company's artisans could build one for use.

In the following year Jacob Cornelisz of Rosendael, one of the original soldier grantees of land in 1657, bought Bosheuvel. It had been worked by the Company and grapes pressed since van Riebeeck's departure, awaiting its sale on van Riebeeck's behalf. He had wanted the Company to buy it, hoping for a decent purchase price. His salary had been, after ten years' service, £130 a month (£10 16s. 8d. He began with £6 5s.) It was sold to Rosendael for £1,600 (£110). (In passing—Guillame Heems owned Bosheuvel in Tas's day.)

Now, in 1674, Rosendael was granted a licence to keep a wine-shop and to sell his wine to ships' people and to the general public. The privilege aroused ill-feeling, as any individual advance in the small and struggling community was apt to do. A couple of other tavern-keepers' wives so attacked Mrs. Rosendael that they found themselves in court. Rosendael died two years later, but licence to sell Cape wine as a separate project from other liquor was established. Subsequently, the man who held the licence might not sell his own wine direct, and the farmers were prohibited from selling to him. The Company wanted its "rake-off". All wine had to be sold in the first instance to the Company. The Company soon found itself without sufficient stocks of Cape wine. The lessee was then permitted to buy direct from the farmers. Had the Company not conceded this the lessee could have demanded back the price, or part of the price, of his licence, as being deprived of the means to sell for want of supplies.

In April 1679 Batavia sent over a man, Hans Adam Cockenberger, a Viennese in the Company's service there, who discovered himself as an expert viticulturalist. He had previously served some six months at the Cape as a soldier of the Company, and he stated that he could produce so many vines and leaguers of wine that Cape wine in a few years would be exported to India. At his own request he was given his letters of freedom and was sent to the Cape. His wife was also an expert. The Cape Government was instructed to grant him land. He appears to have encouraged the farmers to such an extent that Simon van der Stel (who himself arrived in 1679) restrained them. It looked as if other agriculture might be neglected. He ordered that only one morgen of vineyard might be laid out to six morgen of other cultivation.

In January 1684 he called a halt to the illicit sale of wine by the farmers. They were not only selling it freely but also charging "far above its value" for it. They were even arranging contracts with one another. This harmed the lessees and defrauded the Company of its "lawful prerogatives". They were forbidden to sell to anyone but the Company unless they had a permit.

Next year the Commissioner the Lord of Mydrecht decreed that there should be one man licensed to sell Cape wine. All wine was to be sold to the Company by the farmers at a fixed price, and from the Company the lessee would receive his supplies. Apparently so much wine was being produced that the farmers would be obliged to off-load on to the Company whether they would or not.

When, some years later, the Stellenbosch and Drakenstein vineyards were established they were found to produce better wine than the farms in the Peninsula, but they still did not produce a wine which approached the European standard. It was apt to be a "brackish article". However, Simon van der Stel, both on his own farm Constantia and in the Company's gardens in Cape Town and at Rondebosch, made continuous experiments with imported slips from France, Spain, Germany, and even with seed from Persia. In 1691 the English captain Dampier wrote of Cape wine: "It is like a French High Country white wine but of pale-yellowish colour, very pleasant and strong".

The garden in Cape Town was at this time in charge of a man both cultured and enthusiastic. He was a German, Bernard Oldenburg, from Lübeck. He had received his education as a botanist at the University of Leyden. There was a famous herb garden at Leyden, its lay-out a strictly geometrical pattern like the garden at the Cape. This was the golden age of the Company's garden,

and it became world famous. Oldenburg's assistant, Jan Hartog, was also a botanist and of an education above the ordinary foreman's. He succeeded Oldenburg as head gardener.

Until 1699 the licence to sell Cape wine was vested in one man. It was found that the monopoly resulted in a rise in the price of wine to the public and in a deterioration in quality from which the lower ranks of the fleets particularly suffered. The Commissioner [Heyns] of that year ordered that the licence should be put up to auction in four parts—the four buyers to have no partnership nor “underhand agreement with each other”. This was profitable to the Company because the total purchase price of the four licences exceeded the total of what had been reached for one, and it profited the public because competition between the lessees lowered the price of wine.

The only fly in the ointment was its lowering the price so much that the value of the other liquor licences threatened to go down. Adjustments, therefore, had to be made to content these other lessees. The four Cape wine lessees only too faithfully kept their contract to engage in no underhand league with one another, and proceeded each to do his best to undermine the other's trade. Meantime, smuggled sales went on and the lessees themselves were not exempt from it. The price raised at auction for the sale of the Cape wine leases dropped. This was a serious matter, affecting the revenue. It brings us to 1701.

The liquor licences had by now become “the chief source of revenue”. Willem Adriaan van der Stel suggested to the Directorate that an individual should be permitted to buy more than one of the four parts, and that besides his own dwelling and the one other wine-shop which a wine-lessee was ordinarily allowed, he should be permitted to open two wine-shops for every part he bought.

In 1705 this eventually came about. What actually happened was that the four parts were put up and one man bought three and a second man the remaining part. There were elements of dispute in this result and the four parts were put up again, with the result that the price bid exceeded the total bid for three parts and the bid for the fourth part. The burgher, John Phyffer, who appears in Tas's diary as offending Guiliam du Toit, carried off the licence.

There was considerable ill-feeling about this arrangement and it was involved in the accusations against the Governor. The fact remains, however, that when the Directorate ordered in October 1706 that the Cape wine lease should be put up again in future in

four separate parts as Heyns had directed, it did not prove as time went on to be satisfactory. In September 1710 we find the Governor (Assenburgh) and Council "dissatisfied". The four lessees, according to one of Heyns's conditions, had been required to "declare" that there would be no collusion between them in order that by honest competition the public should be better served. It had become evident that a mere declaration failed to bind them to their promise, and the Governor in Council decided that they should be required to make their declarations upon oath.

It was no easy matter to bring the lessees to order. They themselves suffered from so much illicit dealing at the hands of the public. "The boarding-house keepers," they complained in 1708, "get wine unobserved to their houses from the farmers and sell to their lodgers at less than the lessees charge." It was burgher against burgher, and in a community where the sphere of normal trade was so limited it was a grievous business.

For a very long time good wine at the Cape was only produced from a few farms. At the end of the 17th century Simon van der Stel, on his farm Groot Constantia, and the Frenchman Taillefer, on his farm Picadie, at Paarl, were the two outstanding.

Doubtless, too, good wine suffered from being mixed before export with wine not so good in order to raise the quantity. In May 1700 we find Willem Adriaan van der Stel expressing his regret that the India Council has decided to purchase "no more Cape wine". It seemed a pity to have to send just "onion seeds, drugs, and ostriches for the King of Candia".

In 1750 the Council of India was still complaining about the quality of Cape wine.

The Englishman, John Barrow, secretary to Lord Macartney, wrote at the end of the century: "Of rich, sweet wines the colony produces great variety—a large, white Persian grape called here a *hænapod*, or cock's foot, makes a delicious but expensive wine. . . . The muscadel gives a different wine at almost every place in which it grows. Nearly all the wines that are made at the Cape taste either very much of the fruit or are otherwise meagre and sour . . . the latter . . . probably owing to the practice of pulling the grapes before they are ripe. . . ."

Another matter which suffered from long years of contention was the distillation of brandy, whether from grain or from Cape wine. Van Riebeeck was ordered to distil brandy as soon as the grain was plentiful. In March 1659 he had the still ready, and in one of his moments of supreme optimism wrote to the Directorate: "As regards grain we can sufficiently depend upon

ourselves", yet discovers before his despatch goes off that his hopes of the harvest were not to be realised and that his distillation of brandy from grain must go by the board.

Not until May 1672 was the first brandy distilled, and it was distilled from Cape wine. A cook's mate from one of the ships was found to know how to do it, and from two leaguers of the "worst" Cape wine three ankers of "very delicious" brandy were made. "In course of time," wrote Governor Goske, under whose government the event took place, "and with the opulent cultivation of the vine some profit might accrue to the Company out of it."

It was long in coming. In 1696 Simon van der Stel was writing: "Brandy and vinegar are not yet properly in hand". The quality of the grape harvest, he says, varies so much, nor was there a surplus of wine to make use of. "When the time comes" to make brandy, he suggests, the Company will be obliged to send out its own distiller, or "smuggling will be encouraged and the revenue ruined".

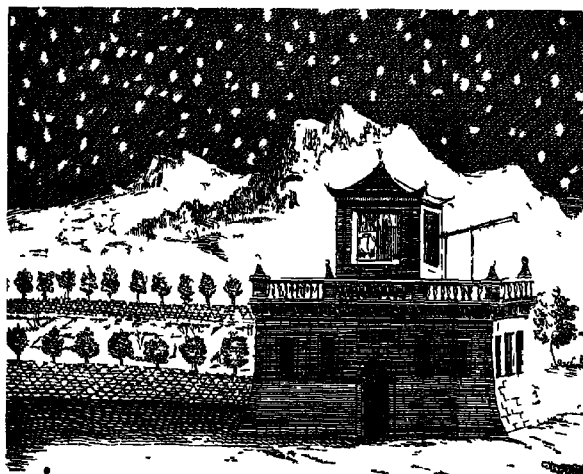
There was need of more brandy. The Directorate did not send enough and for the greater part of the year the Cape was apt to be without. That involved complications with the brandy lessee. In 1699 his complaints were sufficiently justified to permit his being allowed to relinquish his contract. He had had to shut up shop for want of stock. Yet the farmers, particularly those of the country districts (i.e., districts other than the Cape Peninsula), were again warned not to sell brandy distilled from grain or Cape wines. The prohibition was to hold good whether the harvest was plentiful or not. Brandy was being smuggled into the garrison and sold to liquor lessees. The Company's profits were affected and the corn wasted.

In 1701 we find Stephen Vermey, who held the imported brandy lease (and whom we meet in Tas's diary), complaining of being ruined by cheap Cape wines, by "wormwood wine", which the wine-shops were allowed to sell "in the morning", and by the uncertainty of the supplies of imported brandy. He gives up his lease.

By 1706 Cape wine was so plentiful that no lessee could be found for imported beer and the beer was sold off by auction. Willem Adriaan van der Stel asks the Directorate that the brandy lessee may be allowed to sell Cape brandy and to buy what foreign brandy he could get from the ships when the Company's cellar-master failed him. He also reported the difficulty of preventing smuggling when the farmers could not get rid of their surplus



Photograph by Arthur Elliott from Keltie
THRESHING AT THE CAPE



Jean Petit Tachard's Voyage de Siam
Photograph by Arthur Elliott
PAVILION BUILT BY SIMON VAN DER SVEL IN THE COMPANY'S GARDEN
CAPE TOWN

It became the nucleus of the present Government House. Here in June 1685 French Jesuit astronomers made a close calculation of the longitude of the Cape.

wine. To empty their casks they sold it under the rose. He requests permission for them to distil brandy and to make vinegar and to get rid of their brandy to the Company at a fixed price. To which the Directorate replied that the colonists could make as much brandy and vinegar as they liked, but that van der Stel was not to contract to take it off their hands at a fixed price.

Van der Stel was left with the smuggling problem unsolved; for surplus brandy was no less likely to invite smuggling than surplus wine. To whom were the farmers to sell what was left over after the Company had satisfied its needs and the local public theirs?

"Could your Honours," he wrote again, with hardly concealed satire, "therefore find another suitable market for the disposal of Cape wine it would in the interests of the public be very pleasant and delightful to us."

Such was the fate of Cape brandy to the end of the period with which we are dealing.

It should be explained that the selling of provisions to the Company at a fixed price was an encouragement to the farmers. It was an old tradition dating from the time of the first freemen, when the Company gave them a guarantee to take over at a fixed price whatever grain they grew. It meant they knew where they were. It only failed when later on they grew more of any one commodity than the Company could do with; a trap they were apt to fall into. But they liked the arrangement, or did until the time approached (as at the beginning of the 18th century it is approaching) when the need to export to other markets on the part of the farmers themselves—to have free trade, in short—became imperative if their own prosperity was to have full opportunity. (They did not get free trade until the occupation of the British.) In 1670 they were offered the opportunity of selling their wines direct to India and to get what they could for it, paying a small export duty to the Company at the Cape and whatever import duties the Council of India saw fit to impose. But the farmers retreated from such a risk. The offer was by no means as generous as it might appear. Both the Company and the farmers knew Batavia's opinion of Cape wines and how they arrived sour. It opened up a world of difficulties and of expense. Better to get the wine off their hands on the spot.

Cape beer has a history, too. Not because the freemen were prevented from brewing but because, like the wine, it lacked quality.

The indefatigable van Riebeeck made the first beer himself. It was "rising nicely in the cooler" on October 5th, 1658. The

Directorate had suggested that he should make beer of Cape corn, but it is probable that he made it from the dried hops which he had indented for during the previous year. The Directorate remarked discouragingly of the sample cask he sent them, that "it was nothing in particular". "Evidently," replies van Riebeeck in March 1660, "the result of its unfitness for conveyance by sea." Of two casks which he sent to Batavia one went sour, the other was found to be "drinkable". "Here," retorts van Riebeeck, "it is delicious, as Admiral Sterthemius and other officers of the fleet . . . will be able to testify."

Jan Harwarden, the sergeant in charge of the garrison, turned brewer in his off-time. When he died his son-in-law Suurwarden, the tailor, took over. Beer continued to be made by one man and another. The great difficulty was to get satisfactory hops. Van Riebeeck made every attempt to grow them, but without success. The Directorate sent him detailed instructions in November 1659 of how hops should be planted, and ordered him "to pay particular attention to the cultivation of hops". In the meantime he will be sent dried hops, though reluctantly: "They take up too much room and make beer expensive". Van Riebeeck asks them in future to send him hops dried in the sun and not in a kiln, for he wants to plant the seeds and kiln-dried seeds won't fructify. The hops plants sent out in the *Het Wapen van Amsterdam* arrived safely in March 1662, but those shipped in the *Amersfoot* were cut up on board in mistake for salad.

(Hops never did grow satisfactorily at the Cape, but now—1948—hopfields have succeeded as a new venture at George, in the Cape Province.)

In 1694 the Directorate sent out a brewer from Holland. His name was Rutgert Mensing. He was given the Company's property "Papenboom" at Newlands where he found the best water for his purpose. He brought hop plants with him, but most of them rotted, and he knew nothing about the cultivation of hops. (Not that it would have helped if he had.) He made very bad beer, but he came with a strong recommendation from the Company and had to be looked after. At the time of Tas's diary his widow and son were running the brewery, and many were the troubles connected with them. In November 1706 the burgher councillor Teunis van Schalkwyk announced himself as ready to resume the brewing which occupied him before Mensing arrived. Messrs. Widow Mensing and Son had refused to provide the lessee Cruywagen with a good and drinkable article at a fair price so that

he had been obliged to close his shop. Van Schalkwyk got his licence. The Council of Policy decided that competition would be a good thing. It was, however, by no means the last the Council heard of Widow Mensing.

At the end of the century Gysbert van Reenen was brewer at Papenboom, among many other ventures which his able father, his brothers, and he himself engaged upon. Van Reenen built the beautiful little house, the design of which is accredited to the Frenchman Thibault, who was in the service of the Company at the time. (Lady Anne Barnard states in her Journal, on the strength of a personal acquaintance with van Reenen, that it was built by his own slaves from an Italian design he chanced upon.) It was the most perfect bit of domestic architecture at the Cape. Unfortunately, it was destroyed by fire. It is said that van Reenen had some success in growing hops, but from all accounts, the quality of his beer was not improved thereby.

Newlands Avenue has never lost the reminder of its brewing. Brewers continued to brew there all through the 18th and 19th centuries. One derelict brewery remains, and the other (van Reenen's) was turned into a private house and gargantuan studio by the artist, the late Gwelo Goodman.

"Sugar-beer was a popular beverage at the Cape, and for a long time subject to regulation. Constantly it makes an appearance in the records until Cape wine became so plentiful. It was one of those things, like bread, which the poorest people, both Company's servants and freemen, used to make and sell, and did it persistently whatever the regulations were. Lessees of Cape wine complained of its competition. In 1727 its brewing for sale was prohibited.

Mentzel gives us the recipe for it: bran, black sugar, hops. "This mixture is boiled, and fermented by the addition of yeast. If a small quantity of ordinary beer is added it forms a refreshing drink in hot weather."

In 1667 when everybody was allowed to make it the Commander Quaelberg fixed the price, for the sailors were being fleeced. In 1676 Commander Bax appointed only certain persons to make and sell it. Later on, when this idea had died down, brewers and liquor lessees complained of its competition, and people who made it were licensed with more strictness. Company's servants were told that the making of sugar-beer was beneath their dignity, and that they were not to compete with the freemen. Simon van der Stel gave licences in preference to widows and other particularly needy persons.

The wormwood wine, which we find Stephen Vermey complaining about in 1701 must have been a kind of beer. In one of van Riebeeck's despatches (March 1660) we find the following passage: "Brewers have informed us that in many places wormwood is used [for making beer] instead of hops, so that long before this we had sown the wormwood seeds found in the medicine chests, but none has ever sprouted forth. The brewers add that a little hops should be added when the wormwood is being boiled."

PROPERTY AND REGULATIONS AGAINST TREKKING

No one may change or remove another's boundary posts.

The freemen of Stellenbosch shall bring their lands under cultivation within three years on pain of forfeiting same.

Every inhabitant given his freedom shall be bound to present his letters of freedom to the burgher council of this town, or to the landdrost and councillors of Stellenbosch respectively, in conformity with his possessions, so that the same may be recorded by the authorities.

Everyone shall be bound within six months after this proclamation to produce the proper title deeds of the land granted to him, on pain of forfeiture; to be entered in a well-bound book, so that no difficulties may arise later over possession and inheritance.

Those who are not resident in the Cape district or that of Stellenbosch or Drakenstein and owning property, shall not herd nor possess cattle; the same shall be taken from them and declared forfeit. . . .

All freemen residing outside the boundary posts or borders of the Cape territory or that of Stellenbosch or Drakenstein, or lying thereabout with their cattle shall break up at the speediest moment and within six months of this date betake themselves, lock, stock, and barrel, within the said limits. . . .

The first of these edicts was promulgated by van Riebeeck. "Once more", he complained in February 1659, the land-surveyor had marked off the freemen's lands. Henceforth, a man would be fined for every missing beacon.

To transplant, demolish, or at least vigorously to question another man's beacons continued, however, to be a popular pastime at the Cape. "One cause of their endless disputes," wrote John Barrow nearly 150 years later, "is the absurd manner of measuring by time." A man would be granted as much land as it took him to walk across in an hour, or some other period of time. That would be all right until grants to other men began to impinge upon his paces, or unless his particular stride impinged upon claims already staked, or the whole operation took place a generation ago and an heir was firmly convinced that his father's vanished beacons in this or that direction actually embraced a line which a neighbouring heir, having come of age, was equally convinced his father's footprint had stamped as the family heritage for all time, especially if something had happened to the water-supply in the meantime. . . .

The burgher councillors were destined to settle such disputes, and the field-cornet was called in to bring his paces to bear upon the disputed area. It may easily be imagined that the case too often had to be carried to a higher court.

The second edict establishing a time-limit for the cultivation of grants originated with van Riebeeck, who first gave a man 18 months and then reduced it to a year. Simon van der Stel increased it to 18 months again, and finally to three years.

In 1672 Commander Hackius found it necessary to exercise a more strict control of landed property. People were selling and reselling property without giving notice to the Secretariat, and men were holding property without any visible sign of their right to do so. Official records were therefore considerably confused. He issued an edict forbidding transfer without permit.

At the same time he tightened up supervision of letters of freedom. The evil of the idler and the nomad was steadily increasing. Men requested letters of freedom under certain conditions, and subsequently wandered about at their will.

Simon van der Stel with his accustomed vigour attacked both the problem of the transfer and registration of property, and of the wanderer. In January 1686 under the ægis of the Commissioner the Lord of Mydrecht he introduced the levy of a transfer fee. If a man sold land granted by the Company within three years he had to pay into the Treasury one-tenth of the value of the sale; if he sold within ten years the fee was one-twentieth; and thereafter one-fortieth.

In July of the same year he ordered that everyone whose title-deeds were lost or damaged or defective should present himself within six months at the Secretariat that his ownership, or his occupation of land rented from the Government (a "loan" place) might be properly authorised, and the record placed "in a new and well-bound book".

It was, however, not always the landowner who was to blame for lost title-deeds. Cases were not unknown when the authorities were casual. We have an instance when Gerrit Coetsee, son of Dirk Coetsee of Tas's Diary, had difficulty in proving his claim to part of his inheritance.

Dirk Coetsee's farm "Coetsenberg" and a further few acres in Jan Jonker's Hoek which he called "Assegaaibos" had been granted to him by Simon van der Stel. Assegaaibos had been granted, probably as a little extra grazing, later than Coetsenberg, and it seemed that although Dirk Coetsee possessed the title-deed,

signed by the Governor, no other record was made of the transaction. Dirk died 1721-2 and Gerrit handed this title-deed, together with other papers relative to the estate, to the secretary of the Orphan Chamber, as was the regular procedure in the winding-up of an estate.

Gerrit never recovered this title-deed. It was mislaid. Thirty years later he was suddenly required to produce evidence of his claim to the ownership of Assegaaibos. A further search in the office of the Orphan Chamber failed to discover the deed.

Such men could hardly be dispossessed, but the case gives an idea of the *laissez-faire* of earlier days and the difficulty it caused later on.

In 1723 there was another confusion involving people of Tas's Diary. The widow of Claas Vegtman, the "lame Vulcan", sold a plot of land at some time to Pieter van der Bijl's parents. In 1723 someone else wanted to buy it who went the legal way about it. It was discovered that there was no record of earlier transactions in regard to it. Though the law of transfer had been in force since 1672 it was still in process of penetrating the conscience of the populace, characteristically resistant of innovation.

Difficulties arising from deliberate or casual evasion of the transfer regulations increased as men trekked farther and farther inland. The district of Stellenbosch came to embrace a very large area, widening its boundaries in the effort to keep pace with the men who, like a rippling but rising tide, steadily seeped away to a new high-water mark.

In 1700 "by waggon across the Roode Zand" people began to occupy the Tulbagh valley. A military outpost was established to protect them, but the area never acquired its own landdrost under the Company, and its business had to be transacted through the landdrost of Stellenbosch. Men were to press on into the Little Karroo. Business had to be transacted at the pace of the ox. It was no wonder that the graziers, trekking on northward and eastward, became very much a law unto themselves.

Simon van der Stel made a determined effort to recall men who remained over the boundary. The Company had no desire to extend its dominion. All it wanted was sufficient farmers within reasonable distance of the Castle to supply its needs. Simon van der Stel himself had wider visions of colonial life, but they did not extend to the idea of a free and independent body of men using the Company as a springboard to vanish into space where their existence could be of little or no use to the Company, and

where their encounters with the aborigines might conceivably cause the Company no little trouble.

He issued the edict ordering everyone outside the boundary to return, forbidding them to have dwelling-houses and cattle-kraals other than within the boundary. These men were all herding cattle, outright nomads or living in hovels, degenerating as Europeans, and evading militia and other duties incumbent upon the colonist.

He was, however, unsuccessful in gathering into the fold again as a permanent state of affairs the men who had trekked over the border. It was never to be stopped. It was to become an increasingly difficult problem; to exercise the minds not only of the Cape Government but also of the burgher councillors of later years.

As time went on, the system of granting lands on loan for grazing was partly to blame for scattering the population. As Willem Adriaan van der Stel prophesied would be the case, the Government was forced in the end to permit graziers permanently to reside over the border. Not to grant land freehold gave the authorities, theoretically, the opportunity to withdraw the right of occupation if they thought fit. Actually it made things more difficult, and the extent to which loan grazing came to be granted during the first decades of the 18th century was to cause considerable concern to the Government.

Leniency in the granting of loan grazing was the outcome of lack of sufficient grazing within the colony. The question whether so many graziers were necessary to the colony never appears to have been answered at the most critical stage by a policy consistent and clear to the colonists.

In a despatch written to the Directorate in March 1701 Willem Adriaan van der Stel, having been asked to report whether the colony would be benefited by more settlers, and if so of what type, describes the position as follows:

"The country seven or eight miles [Dutch miles] around the Cape is mostly sandy and poor, excepting some valleys adjoining the mountains, and some plains along the rivulets, almost all of which are so to say occupied already. No more agriculturalists can therefore settle near the Cape, but they will be obliged to proceed 16 to 18 leagues inland to settle there on good land, if they can find any. This is hardly practicable for those coming from Home as they are altogether poor and needy, and besides quite unacquainted with the nature of the country, even if a fair amount of assistance be rendered to them, for, as the land is to be sought at a distance, experience has taught us that they cannot

get on very well. Moreover, most of the freemen who have arrived are in poor circumstances, and impeded by many children; some of them having already fallen upon our poorly supplied Poor Fund. But as the inhabitants have greatly multiplied during many years they have been permitted to spread themselves inland, receiving as being born here a helping hand from friends and relations. Consequently, under the blessing of God, the Cape promises to grow by the increase of its own people, who not knowing another Fatherland, will not do as the majority of those who come out, who when they have managed to scrape something together depart again, which as your Honours will appreciate tends to the great injury of this growing colony."

There was much talk now and at other times whether or not emigrants should be encouraged to come to the Cape. The stream never flowed strongly, and in the end what increase there was came principally to depend upon youthful marriage and huge families. The overflow of these families spread inland, and so did other families who desired a less exacting social standard than the community of the Cape demanded of them. They lived the lives of the poorest peasants; many of them rich in cattle and content with that.

In an address which the Cape colonists presented to the Government in February 1786 for despatch to the Directorate the trekkers were one of the problems which the burghers stressed. The trekkers had reached the Bantu, and all the evils of miscegenation, and of undisciplined and squalid conditions of domestic life were the tale of too many.

The Cape Government supported the burghers' anxiety and added the remark: "It certainly was not necessary to extend cattle breeding, but only and solely the desire of those residents to be their own masters. . . ." It was this element which had been the Government's problem from the earliest times.

The Hollander P. J. Idenburg in his recent book "De Kaap de Goede Hoop . . ." says of it :

"People did not wish for the interference of authority. Many, notwithstanding rigorous prohibition, trekked deliberately outside the borders of the settlement. They were determined upon freedom of existence in undeveloped areas." He adds: "The Great Trek of the 'thirties of the 19th century differed only in extent but not in the nature of the situation, for trek-boers were in being almost from the beginning of the settlement."

There are two other little points of interest which we may remark upon before leaving the subject of property. The first, that the upkeep of roads and bridges was maintained by a small

tax on property, and a personal tax. In 1716 the burgher councillors sought to amend a state of affairs which was no longer satisfactory. "As far back as the record goes," they say, "the assessment on Landed Property and on persons to defray the expenses incurred for the maintenance of roads and the making of bridges and other public works took place as follows. . . ." They proceed to explain that the tax on property was levied as a fixed sum per house, and bore no relation to the value of the property. That did not matter in the beginning "when each resident owned a little house which did not differ much from the rest. It had, however, become very unequal, as the owner of a house of one or two thousand guilders must pay as much as the owner of a house worth four times that value. Moreover, by sales much property has come into one hand, yea, even as many as four to six houses . . . the result is that this source of revenue, notwithstanding the number of buildings, lands, and gardens increases so considerably, is but very little augmented." The Burgher Councillors proposed to the Council of Policy that people should be taxed *pro rata*, and be required to present themselves and have their property valued.

It was towards the end of the first half-century that the earliest of these finer houses were being built, both in the town and on the farms. Presently, the typical and gracious beauty of the Cape homestead, and the stately little Town houses would compose the familiar scene of the colony.

The second point of interest bears upon this. The building of the good Town house had its origin in houses built as an investment by Company's servants. We hear of it first in van Riebeeck's despatch to the Directorate April 1659 suggesting that Company's servants who possessed the means should be permitted to invest in property at the Cape by building houses for the purpose of renting to the freemen. The freemen, he wrote, "are too poor to build any for themselves, so that they must keep themselves in a very primitive manner and have very little comfort."

This was permitted by the Directorate in a despatch of September of the same year, and continued to be permitted. The Journal of 1710 reveals that the Town house occupied by Henning Husing belonged to "the ex-Governors Simon and Willem Adriaan van der Stel, according to the title-deeds existing". *

Later records refer to the investment in house property on the part of Company's servants. The practice is likely to have increased when their activities as farmers were firmly suppressed after the recall of Willem Adriaan van der Stel, and the determination to augment their salaries remained irrepressible.

There can be no doubt that investment in house property on the part of the Company's servants helped to improve the architectural scene. Simon van der Stel at Constantia in 1691 built the prototype of the early good Cape farmhouse. It had casement windows. Willem Adriaan van der Stel and his coterie housed themselves well, and the sash window made its appearance. Only a few burghers, however, were in a position at the end of the first 50 years to build themselves really good homesteads. The popular idea of the Cape at the beginning of the century and, it seems, of a period even earlier, is of greater burgher population, of many prosperous farms, and of beautiful, gabled homesteads shadowed by great oaks. This is a picture of a day to come. There were men rising from the common level of a very meagre existence—but only rising. In 1715 we hear of "the general poverty of the residents of the Table Valley", and of the Stellenbosch "colony" as being "in a bad and poor way".

None the less, Husing had built "Meerlust", Tas had a small but pleasant house which he renamed "Libertas" after his release from prison. Guilliame Heems, before he bought Bosheuvel, had built Leeuwenhof above Cape Town (and sold it to the Fiscal Blesius, as a Town house), and there were several others. For the rest, very modest homesteads existed upon farms at this date, but they were farms with names which were to go down to posterity, and upon which historic homesteads would presently be built.

The phrase "upkeep of roads and bridges" is also apt to give an impression of rather more development than had actually taken place. All it meant was the upkeep of a little timber bridge or two over the Eerste and the Liesbeeck streams. Roads were waggon tracks upon which the more dangerous holes were filled up from time to time. The road from the Castle to Stellenbosch was a track marked by posts across the veld. The waggon road from the Castle to Rondebosch was more worthy the name. Tas's travels abroad by horse or chaise may thus be imagined.

PUBLIC HEALTH AND SAFETY

Every one of the inhabitants shall clear away the mess, dirt, and dung-heaps in front of their houses.

All the inhabitants belonging to the Cape district are expressly forbidden to slaughter or to sell any sheep in their houses . . . but if inclined to slaughter and to sell the same for the convenience of the garrison people and good residents here they shall be bound to bring it daily in the morning punctually at 7 o'clock to the bazaar, as being the ordained slaughter-house, and before selling the same have it inspected for soundness or unsoundness by the two appointed inspectors, when people whose meat is good shall sell to everyone at a reasonable price.

(Apparently such retail sales as could be made on the market did not infringe the contract which the grazier Husing still held in 1704 to supply the Company wholesale.)

No one may sell any produce other than on the market.

No one on pain of a fine . . . shall drive cattle or allow any cattle to run through the streets of the Town, and all waggons going in and out shall keep their beasts in the collar or under the yoke, nor may they unharness (outspan) except between the Lion Mountain and the back of the burghers' houses.

Nobody shall turn sheep into the water, nor wash, nor stir up the water above the flow of the beck and fountain where the ships draw water, neither shall anyone dam or divert the water.

People may wash only at the proper place on the east side of the Castle moat. They may not keep geese there nor allow them to swim there.

Nobody may cross the water-furrow between the Castle and Table Mountain with waggon, cattle, or merely in person, other than by the usual places and bridges.

Van Riebeeck issued the first plakkaat against pollution of the drinking water in 1655. He received serious complaint from the Council at Batavia of crews being made ill by water taken in at the Cape. He replied to the complaint in April of that year denying that the drinkwater became impure "because of its being led round the gardens. . . ." He begged to state that the Council had been "wrongly informed by those who have not taken the trouble to make a personal inspection of the course of the water". He assured the Council that he would take care. It was all another excuse, he said, to pass by the Cape and refresh at St. Helena. Officers "allow their men to wash their dirty linen above the place where water is drawn, and if addressed on the subject they become angry and say all sorts of bad things behind our backs. . . ."

He ordered that everybody henceforth was to wash only at the cattle kraal.

The source of the water supply was Plattcklip Gorge on Table Mountain from whence it cascaded down, running into two streams at the foot, and coursing down to the sea past the fort. One of these streams ran down the middle of the Heerengracht—now Adderley Street—and van Riebeeck canalised it.

In 1660 he carried out, at long last, instructions given to him by the Directorate before he left Holland (the Commissioner Sterthemius of this year leaving "positive orders" to do so), and constructed a reservoir for watering the ships. He widened and deepened the canal; made the dam for the water-casks near the jetty with pipes and taps for filling; diverted a channel for the freemen's use, and led the overflow into the moat which he now made properly round the fort. Above the dam washing was prohibited.

When the new fort was built further amenities were provided to ensure a clean water-supply for the town-dwellers, the garrison, and the ships. Eventually, pipes were laid for the ships right down to the jetty itself.

In Willem Adriaan van der Stel's time new pipes were being laid down. In 1707 the Council was still busy about it, and in April wrote to the Directorate: "Timber being very scarce here and no supplies possible from Mauritius after the abandonment of the island, we have been obliged to ask you for 200 leaden pipes for the water-works between the foot of Table Mountain and the jetty. A long distance has already been laid, but continual repairs are necessary and heavy pipes are required. We are therefore almost unable to keep the works in order, and therefore thought in course of time to lay down leaden piping over the whole distance, and to ask you for a certain quantity every year."

The whole distance was eventually laid with leaden pipes encased in timber. Very good arrangements were also made for the public, in which Willem Adriaan van der Stel had a hand. On the Parade there was a fountain with four jets of continually flowing pure water. Even in 1693 the English captain Ovington described the arrangements for watering ships at the Cape as being "scarce equalled by any in the world".

The following regulations are precautions against fire:

No one here in the Town shall . . . lay up at his house more fuel than is granted to him monthly, and he shall store it 50 roods from his own and his neighbour's house.

Those in future who wish to build any house shall erect the same with brick walls 15 feet high. No thorn bushes may be suffered round any houses or lands.

Elaborate precautions against fire were necessary not only on account of the thatched roofs of this period, but also because the notorious Cape winds were apt to make of fire a serious catastrophe. In the earliest days men stored their grain in their lofts, and their fuel, too, which increased the danger.

Simon van der Stel regulated the height of the walls because the nearness of the thatch to the ground upon a low building, and the ease with which it might be ignited by a spark from a pipe or torch, or maliciously.

Van Riebeeck proclaimed the first edict: "Whereas the guard-house of the [Company's] garden and other habitations are made of wood roofed with reeds, being very subject to fire, no one, whoever it may be, shall night or day bring fire or torch into the houses or garden-house, nor smoke nor allow smoking other than under the gate."

Simon van der Stel took the matter of precautions against fire thoroughly in hand. In July 1686 he established a fire patrol. One section was manned from the garrison, the other by freemen. Men were required to be at their posts at six o'clock in the evening. They patrolled the streets every half-hour. These patrols also acted as provosts-marshal. At nine o'clock the Castle bell struck the curfew, and after this hour any soldier or sailor found in the streets without adequate excuse was taken into custody and handed over in the morning to the officer of the watch at the Castle. Every morning the freeman sergeant in charge of the freeman patrol reported to the captain of the garrison.

The Governor first ordered that houses should be 20 feet high—this in 1686. He gave owners a month in which to raise their walls. The Fiscal and his "kaffirs", and the men of the Rattle-Watch were required to have care of fire appliances and to see that they were kept in a suitable place ready for use. We hear of ladders, pails, sail-cloth (for spreading, wet, over roofs), squirts, and rakes.

In 1691 the fire-masters reported the danger of chimneys built in timber lean-tos. Simon promptly abolished them and ordered that chimneys were to be bricked in.

In 1698 came a vigorous reminder of all this. In spite of his earlier order the fire-masters in making a tour of inspection still found roofs sloping nearly to the ground. •

In the next generation the wiser plan of building houses with flat, tiled roofs proceeded apace, and Cape Town gradually took on its characteristic 18th-century appearance. "A massive fire-station" (I quote Mentzel again) now stood upon the west side

of the parade. The Governor Swellengrebel had caused the parade to be levelled; before, it had been a death-trap of ruts so wide and deep a cart could disappear into them, to say nothing of the reveller on a dark night. The fire-station contained "two very expensive leather hoses", and two others "excellent" but not so grand; a pressure engine, and an array of buckets and ladders. The night-watchman carried the key, and the fire-masters had duplicates. If the night-watchman discovered a fire upon his rounds he beat his drum. The church bell rang, the Castle bell rang, and everyone (on pain of fine else) rushed forth and shouted "Fire!"

Flat roofs or not, people were still forbidden to smoke in the street.

SALT

No one may dig salt without a permit from the Company's overseer.

Van Riebeeck's first discovery of salt-pans is recorded in his Journal in May 1652, the month after he arrived. "We shall not require salt [imported]", he writes, "having found . . . a beautiful salt-pan near the wreck of the 'Haarlem'." This pan was along the Diep River, about three to four Dutch miles from the Fort. (In 1654 a rhino was killed there. The contemporary bullet was unequal to the occasion. The wretched beast became bogged in the mire and no less than 100 bullets were fired at the massive target. Eventually van Riebeeck appeared upon the scene and caused a hole to be cut in the flesh into which the death shot was fired.)

The fouling of the salt-pans and the consequent waste of salt was a matter which very soon exercised his concern. He was obliged to issue a plakkaat forbidding free access to the pans. Men drove their waggons into them and generally misused them. Salt was more than ever a valuable commodity when so much had to be used for salting down meat, fish, and birds in order to store provisions. The Directorate also ordered that salt should be sent to the Indies.

In December 1658 he gave the salt-pans into the charge of the free Saldanha fishermen who themselves needed a great deal of it for their work. Thefts of salt from the heaps they laid ready for transport was the next difficulty, and he was obliged to publish a warning that people might not take salt "personally or by means of the Hottentots".

In January 1680 Simon van der Stel, having been reminded by the Directorate that salt was to be laid up as an item of export, warned the freemen that salt must be sparingly used, and he placed the pans under the charge of a Company's servant. Freemen were required to procure a permit to fetch a load, and for each load which a man took for himself he was obliged to deliver two loads to the Company.

As time went on the edict was relaxed, with the result that the pans were again wasted and made filthy. Willem Adriaan van der Stel was obliged to revive the regulation. The resentment this caused is reflected in Tas's diary. Starrenberg, the Landdrost, had complained of waggons' being driven into them and of wastage in general. Tas can hardly be commended for civic spirit.

SERVANTS

KNECHTS (European men-servants):

Nobody shall entice away another man's knecht.

Whoever sub-hires another man's knecht shall, besides the nullity, be fined. . . . He who hires anyone's runaway knecht without the knowledge of his master or consent of H.E. the Governor shall be subject to the same fine.

None of the inhabitants shall hire a freeman or Company's servant without the knowledge and consent of the authorities, nor without having the contract registered at the proper place. The employer shall be obliged every time, at the end of the stipulated and agreed period, to deliver over again without delay the knecht which he had on loan from the Company, and to make register of it at the Secretariat. If his late knecht be a freeman he shall after the expiration of the stipulated time which he has arranged with the same register it at the Secretariat.

A man, if his contract with the Company had expired, might take out letters of freedom to serve as a knecht, or he might be loaned by the Company to a freeman during the period of his service. In the latter event he was obliged to remain on loan until the term of his service in the Company had expired or he was reclaimed by the Company to complete it. In addition to paying his wages his employer was also made responsible for any debts which the knecht owed the Company, and deducted this from his wages, paying half of them into the Company's treasury.

There was a good deal of trouble about all this. Knechts stowed away leaving debts behind them; or they disappeared and evaded capture for long periods; or their employers required credit to carry on. The Company lost money in this fashion, and at the beginning of the 18th century Willem Adriaan van der Stel took steps to prevent it. In March 1701 we find him writing to the Directorate to report a resolution in Council of February 1700 passed with the approval of the Commissioner Valckenier: "When a freeman wants a man on loan the man's pay shall be written off until the term of contract expires or the Government may again require him for the Company, and he shall then be re-enrolled. In this way the arrears of debt of Company's servants who go out on loan are recovered, for the Government allows no freeman to obtain a Company's servant before he has, by order, paid into the treasury the servant's debts, and further such sums which such servant may have pledged to others on his outward voyage."

The actual status of knechts in the community varied, especially if the man were a freeman. In the earliest days it simply denoted an unmarried man working for an older or married man who had been granted land. Knechts were necessarily no different in class or character from the men they worked for. In the earliest days, too, it often meant share and share alike, for the knecht was by no means certain of his wages. In addition to wages he received free board, and an allowance of tea, coffee, and tobacco. On the part of a capable young bachelor it was simply the preliminary to a grant of land of his own. He might be a young relative. We have an instance of such an arrangement between Jacob Cloete and his brother-in-law, Pieter Raderotjes. Cloete was among the first grantees of land. He sent for his wife Fyntie and three children, and Raderotjes arrived with them in March 1659. Raderotjes had a "good knowledge of agriculture" and requested to be taken into the Company's service. He was taken on at f10 a month as a hand on the Company's farm at Rondebosch on condition that he remained in the country for ten years. Presently he joined his brother-in-law. Fyntie Cloete died in '65. Jacob was repatriated in '71, but returned to the Company's service as corporal. In '92 or '93 he was murdered by an undiscovered assailant. His sons, however, remained on the land (Gerrit and Coenraad), and Cloetes appear in Tas's diary.

Tas's "our man Jacob" in the diary was a knecht, either loaned or a freeman, and apparently a trustworthy fellow. Trustworthy knechts were too apt to be the exception rather than the rule. Many of them were men who applied for papers of freedom, or applied to be hired out to a farmer with little idea of a hard-working and orderly existence. They would desert their employers, take to a roving life, and too often to crime. Time and again lists of men would appear of whom the Council had lost track. It was no wonder that in time, and in a burgher community which came to have a prosperous and class-conscious upper strata, the status of knecht descended to the veritable man-servant. In years later than our period the burgher councillors complained that knechts undesirably sought to ingratiate themselves with the ladies of the family in order to improve their social status by marriage.

At the time of Tas's diary this attitude may have been ripening, for the evil of vagabondage had assumed serious proportions, but there were also farmers, especially men who farmed farthest from the centre of Government, who contributed to this vagabondage by employing loose characters in illicit barter with the Hottentots.

In a plakkaat of February 1696 Simon van der Stel paints an alarming picture of fugitive criminals, vagabonds and erring knechts, none of whom the farmers or the Company's outpost servants report. They can live, he reminds the community, only by reason of harbourage and sustenance afforded them by the people, whom they reward by bringing in cattle from the Hottentots at trifling cost. One Hottentot headman was known to be killed by a runaway knecht, and who knew what damage such men were doing to the interests of normal and honest cattle barter.

There were at this time a couple of hundred farmhouses in the country districts of Stellenbosch and Drakenstein.

It seems that burgher councillors and other farmers, when some years later they were able to find time and energy to fine-comb the districts for signatures to the anti-Governor petition, might have also found time to make a concerted effort to rid their community of such men as Simon van der Stel describes.

On the contrary, it was true, as Willem Adriaan van der Stel complained, that even prosperous farmers were involved in the employment of bad characters to serve their ends, and in employing such men to barter on their behalf with the Hottentots caused grievous harm. In later years, long after Willem Adriaan's departure, when van der Heiden held the meat contract to supply the Company, the Church Council accused him of maltreating the Hottentots or of causing them to be maltreated. Proclamations of a much later day are found to be still battling with such evils.

SLAVES:

Nobody shall sell a weapon, knives included, to slaves.

None of the inhabitants shall arm his slaves with a gun, not even in guarding cattle.

As soon as a man or woman slave shall have been missing for twenty-four hours all inhabitants, whether Company's servants or freemen, shall be required to make it known to H.E. the Governor.

(In July 1700 Willem Adriaan van der Stel resuscitated an old plakkaat, and in the following words reported to the Directorate that he had prohibited people from "buying even the smallest piece of clothing from the slaves, as there were some heartless people who made a trade of this, and tempted the slaves to become unfaithful to, and to rob, their masters, at the same time depriving themselves of indispensable clothing".)

Other laws relating to slaves appear under other heads. Some note about slave labour must come under the heading of servants, for no picture of the time can be attempted without reference to it and to the conditions under which these labourers lived.

The slave's lot was not a happy one in any country. The slavers of every maritime country carried equally wretched loads

of human life. At the Cape the redeeming feature was the comparative ease with which for many years, and even to the end with slaves of good character and faithful service, emancipation might be effected. Moreover, no children born in slavery and baptised could be forced to remain in slavery, and public opinion was in favour of the Christian duty to baptise them. All the Company's slave children were baptised and sent to school to be instructed in the Christian faith and the Dutch language. There was some controversy at one time about whether a child of unbaptised parents should be baptised, and there was a minority of people who never approved of baptising the child of a heathen slave (upon what Christian authority it would be difficult to imagine), but the Cape Government formally adopted the procedure existing in the Company's Far Eastern possessions of baptising all slave children.

The first batch of slaves arrived at the Cape in December 1654. They were brought from Madagascar by the Company's galiot *Tulp* which had been lent to the Cape station. Her voyage established the contact between the Cape and Madagascar which we find existing in Tas's diary.

The *Tulp's* voyage was undertaken to relieve a condition of dire need of food at the Cape. Three seasons had been insufficient to establish a production of cereals enough to feed the garrison and to make bread and biscuit for the ships. Nor was sufficient cattle bartered from the Hottentots to give both fleets and garrison what was needed, and the ships came first. It was possible to get supplies of rice from Batavia in the homeward-bound ships, and the ships would spare something from their stores as well, but naturally there was a limit to this. The station at this time could not even be certain that an expected fleet would call. In 1654 the return fleet was ordered to pass the Cape. The Netherlands and England were at war, and it was feared that English ships might be hovering about.

The Cape winds played havoc with van Riebeeck's crops. A promising harvest would be blown out of the ear. He had not yet discovered that there was better soil and less wind on the other side of Table Mountain. Moreover, he had not enough men. They were worn out with overwork and semi-starvation. Like himself, their one desire was to be transferred to Batavia. He had been asking for slaves since he arrived—slaves or Chinese from Batavia who were serving sentences as debtors, or any help of some cheap kind to relieve the men of the heaviest and dirtiest labour, and to have more hands for agriculture. "Full

stomachs are necessary for Netherlanders if they are to work," he wrote to the Directorate in 1653, and work done by slaves, he pleads, would be less expensive. Slaves could be fed on rice and fish or only on salted seal and penguin meat, and without pay.

Seal and penguin meat was, except for a rare treat, the soldiers' fare. Men slipped away from sentry-go during the night and stole from the Company's garden. One was sentenced to 100 lashes and six months in chains for this; others were thrashed, keel-hauled, and made to fall three times from the yard-arm for stealing barley and the hens' food. Soon there was not enough for the hens, and van Riebeeck caught up with the men's opinion that it was possible to eat the hens. They found a dead baboon on the mountain and "ate it up from hunger".

At the end of 1653 some Frenchmen who were sealing in Saldanha Bay told van Riebeeck of what was going on in Madagascar. The French had a station there. Rice and slaves were to be had in plenty. Van der Stel (Simon's father), the Company's Commander at Mauritius, traded from Mauritius to Antongil Bay. When the return fleet passed in '54 van Riebeeck had to take action. He sent the *Tulp* after it to catch it at St. Helena to get provisions, and he sent another vessel, the yacht *Rode Vos*, to Mauritius to obtain information and to sail on to Madagascar for provisions and slaves.

Both vessels returned with provisions as well as another Company's vessel calling at Mauritius on her way home from Batavia. The "much-loved" van der Stel was dead, but his successor reacted nobly. To van Riebeeck's disgust the skipper of the *Rode Vos* had contented himself with this, and had not sailed on to Madagascar, so that no contact was established in case of future need, and he got no slaves.

Now it was that he sent the *Tulp* to Madagascar in charge of his reliable book-keeper Verbergh. (Verbergh had landed at the Cape as a stowaway.) This man returned in December with rice and slaves and a good report. Amiable relations had been established with the "King of Madagascar" (actually, there were dozens of kings in Madagascar), because happily for Verbergh the yacht arrived at the moment when the king lay poisoned. The yacht's barber-surgeon managed to cure him.

"The slaves were "physically a poor lot", and they began running away as soon as they arrived. They never got far, poor wretches.

In 1657 the Directorate detailed two yachts to act as slavers between the Cape and Madagascar and upon the west coast of

Africa. The result was the arrival in the earlier part of 1658 of more slaves than van Riebeeck needed. The arrival was also just preceded by the unexpected delivery of slaves at the Cape by a Company's ship which had taken as a prize a Portuguese slaver on its way from Angola to Brazil. Of the 500 slaves on board the Company's skipper had taken off 250. 175 arrived at the Cape. Of these survivors, most of them were boys and girls . . . "many of whom are still dying daily". The other consignments, when death and temporary debility were counted out, were "a fine, healthy lot". They came from Guinea and Angola. Van Riebeeck sent on about 150 of them to Batavia.

The slaves remaining at the Cape were clothed and rested before being set to work. Subsequently, van Riebeeck described them as being "as good as any Dutchmen in the gardens", and deplored the death of one who attained the same standard in the smithy. He opened a school immediately in order to instruct them in Christianity and the Dutch language. (Orders had been received that the Portuguese language was not to be spoken.) The school was conducted by his brother-in-law, the sick-comforter Pieter van der Stael, who "read Dutch correctly", and came from Rotterdam. Van Riebeeck himself supervised the inauguration of the classes. (Pieter van der Stael deserves to be remembered, for he did all he could to minister to the slaves and Hottentots during the time he was at the Cape.) Van Riebeeck encouraged the adult slaves to attend the school by giving them each a glass of brandy and two inches of tobacco after class.

Unfortunately this brave start had no very satisfactory result. Christianity and the Dutch language failed to make up to the slaves their loss of freedom. Like the Malagasies, the West Africans were filled with fear and resentment and a tragic homesickness. Besides, if van Riebeeck worked the garrison to breaking-point there was no hope that the Company's slaves would be less sternly treated, or that the freemen, who had now been granted their lands and their quota of slaves, would spare them. They took to running away as soon as they arrived. They tried to walk back to Angola and Guinea. Starving, they stole, and in their desperation committed crimes. Van Riebeeck issued a plakkaat warning the freemen—hardly a man of whom was accustomed to the command of servants—to treat their slaves properly.

"As it is being more and more observed," he proclaimed in August 1658, "notwithstanding our oft-repeated warnings and

admonitions, that some of the freemen are still treating their slaves as cruelly and tyrannically as before, most unmercifully beating them with rods and other whips so that they can with difficulty be kept at home, as they are always in consequence endeavouring to run away, of which there have been many examples, no small trouble being caused to the Company in its endeavour to recapture them and restore them to their owners:—Therefore.....” Conditions are to improve, and if a slave commits any serious crime he is to be brought to the Officer of Justice where he may be dealt with according to the statutes of India.

For whatever reason, slaves continued to decamp. Worse still, the danger which runaways threatened to become coincided with the pitiful attempt which the Cape Hottentots made in 1659 to get back, and retain possession of, the land of their fathers. The school was closed. Soon we read: “All the Company's slaves, excepting the old men, women and boys, put into chains”. The chain had an iron ball on the end. None the less, some of them still contrived to escape. The chains slowed down their labour and they were released from them as soon as possible; but the unending problem of slave labour had begun.

A school was reopened in 1663, when we find 12 European children sharing their lessons with four baptised slave children and a little Hottentot. At this time the distinction between white and black was a question of baptism rather than of colour. When in 1657 van Riebeeck looked forward to the arrival of the West Africans he wrote to the Directorate: “As soon as we shall have obtained male and female slaves from Angola . . . we believe that it will then be the right time to lay the foundations for private agriculture, and should some of these agriculturalists marry the women they will be nicely bound to the Cape for life.” Some of them did marry slave women. So acute was the shortage of European women that many men had no choice. In 1665 even the Company's surgeon married the Hottentot interpretest Eva. Marriage with a baptised and Dutch-speaking slave of full colour, whom a European would manumit for the purpose, was fully legal until 1678, by which time the evils of miscegenation had become apparent. Half-castes did not come under ban, and no half-caste at this time might be retained in slavery. It was necessarily much later before opprobrium fell upon the legitimate half-caste. Even if he were legitimate his case might be made happy. In the “Memorials”, that is to say, the record of applications to the Council of Policy, we have the following in 1723-4:

"Burgher Councillors submit that a certain slave-born person, baptised Christian, procreated with a slave-girl by the late Jacobus V...., late husband of the present wife of the burgher-smith Jan G.... and hitherto a ward of the Orphan Chamber, had lately reached his majority; that he had learnt the smith's trade from Jan G...., who with his wife had adopted him as a step-son; that he had made great progress in his trade, and since January last had assisted in making the iron-work of the mills and other necessary matters; that such tradesmen are of the greatest service to the public; and that therefore the Burgher Councillors request that he may be enrolled as a burgher."

In the Journal of November 30th, 1663, we find the instructions for the conduct of the first mixed school. The Europeans were to pay a small fee, but the two daughters of the Company's gardener, "together with the little Hottentot", were to be taught for nothing. Van der Stael's successor proved to be a drunkard and was deported, but a soldier who was "a good and useful man" was found to take his place, so the school survived.

In time the European children obtained a separate school. Simon van der Stel interested himself in the matter, and expressly excluded European children from the Company's slave school.

The education of the slave children, and the apprenticeship from 1676 of the more intelligent slave youths to the Company's artisans in order to learn a skilled trade, were the brighter side of slave existence. These skilled slaves came to play an important part in the working life of the community. Acquired by burghers they sometimes even earned their master's living for him—hired out as masons, carpenters, and so forth. Towards the end of the 18th century this was one of the points commented upon by the authorities, who were concerned about the heavy dependence upon slavery which had developed in the colony. But for the skilled slaves themselves it was a very real benefit. Many of them were emancipated to live decently to the end of their days.

The other side of the picture was dark indeed. The Company set no model example in the general treatment of its slaves. During all the years when the reputation of slave character was being built up they were ill-clad and ill-fed, and had no supervision which sufficiently examined the state in which they lived. Only the corruption which their presence in the community brought about at last forced upon the authorities some closer attention to squalor.

The slaves' determination to abscond was hardly abated by the conditions under which they lived, and the punishment visited

upon them was horrible to a degree, even if we allow for the generally savage terms of justice of the period, and many of them were brutalised to an extent which made their escape a public danger.

Let the Journals speak for themselves:

DECEMBER 1669.—“The Fiscal reported that a female slave of the Company . . . lying stiff and stinking with the smallpox in the slave-house had not hesitated to strangle her infant, a half-caste girl . . . The Council . . . ordered that the murderous pig should be placed in confinement in order to be punished according to her deserts.” She was tied up in a bag and thrown into the sea.

JUNE 1670.—“The Company’s slaves came to the Commander to complain that for a long time now excepting for their scanty clothing annually supplied to them, they have received no other change of garments, nor anything that they might use to cover themselves against the cold during the night. The result has been that much sickness has broken out among their young children and old people, and therefore the Council decided to provide them with some common coastal blankets.”

APRIL 1672.—“As the Company’s slaves complained to the meeting of the vile and scanty food as well as the bad clothing received by them, notwithstanding their heavy daily labour, it was ordered henceforth to supply them once a week with fresh meat and twice a year with clothes.”

JULY 1672.—“If the fishermen . . . do not soon send us a good catch we shall be compelled to feed the slaves on pork and meat, which would be too expensive.”

MARCH 1673.—“A party of tailors selected among the soldiers and sailors in order to make clothes for the newly-arrived slaves, the stuffs being unsaleable and moth-eaten, and the lining old sail-cloth, the whole was contrived in the cheapest and most durable fashion.” (This was a party of 180 slaves landed at the Cape by a Dutch ship which had taken an English slaver as prize.)

DECEMBER 26TH, 1673.—“This second Christmas Day celebrated in the usual manner by going to Church, the Company’s slaves only being kept at work.”

NEW YEAR’S DAY, 1674.—“According to custom the servants of the Company did no work today, and to encourage its slaves each was presented with a small present of money and clothing as well as a piece of almost spoilt tobacco, which generosity made these poor menials very cheerful and happy.”

In 1674 there was a mass escape of 27 Company's and free-men's slaves and of Batavian convicts. The sequel in the Court of Justice makes ugly reading. Slave character in general came under discussion and manumission was rendered more difficult.

JUNE 1676.—“Two slaves, one of the Company the other of a burgher, who had stolen cabbages from the garden of a freeman, were condemned to be scourged and branded and have both their ears cut off. Moreover, they are to be riveted in chains and sent home.”

In November of that year the station's slaver *Voorhout* brought another 257 famished creatures, “babies included”, from Madagascar. They were provisionally lodged in the Company's brick-kilns, and “fed with good refreshing food” (to bring them back to life), “which these poor people are so fond of and ate to the last crumb”.

Incidentally, while the *Voorhout* was in the bay her crew saw a raft, made by lashing three doors together, floating near the ship. Someone had tried to escape, possibly to an English ship also lying at anchor. The *Voorhout's* skipper paid a tactful call upon the English skipper. Too true—Johannes Pretorius's slave was found. (Johannes Pretorius, at one time *Secunde* at Mauritius, was father of Wessel Pretorius of Tas's diary.)

The Journal comments: “Certainly an act of great daring to entrust himself for such a long distance to the fickleness of the wind and weather to which, especially at this time of the year, we are almost every moment exposed.”

More slaves from Angola were also imported in 1676.

In November 1678 appeared the first plakkaat publishing stringent regulations concerning European contact with the slave lodge. Three-fourths of the children there were discovered to be half-caste, and Europeans were going about openly in the streets with slave women. It was destructive of that respect for the European which should be the best safeguard of order in general.

In 1682 emancipation was further controlled. It had become abundantly proved that individuals brought up in slavery, even of the milder sort, were too frequently unable to adjust themselves to a free society. Control withdrawn, they degenerated into idleness, and, if no worse, came down upon the church funds. European emigrants had been so slow in coming that the Directorate had even considered making a reserve of land for emancipated slaves, but the idea was abandoned.

However, to be Christian, Dutch-speaking, and of good character remained sufficient reason for claiming emancipation on

payment of a small sum. It might, however, no longer be claimed as a right but only as a favour. This applied to full-blooded blacks. Baptised and Dutch-speaking imported slaves of both sexes might make the application after 30 years' service, and Cape born slaves after 40 years. Every baptised and Dutch-speaking half-caste might claim freedom as a right, males at 25 years, females at 22 years.

For the full-blooded slave it was long to wait. In 1686 we read of the "daily flight of slaves", and Simon van der Stel condemns the runaways "without form or process" to be tied to a pole and thrashed, to have an ear cut off, and to be sent home in chains. The edict was to continue in operation until the desire for freedom subsided.

In March 1705 Willem Adriaan van der Stel is writing to the Directorate that "slaves are often missed and not recovered". It is the lighter coloured ones who get most easily away. He supposes they stow away in the return fleet. Earlier fugitives who have got successfully away write, he says, to the slaves at the Cape about the "vast difference between liberty and slavery, and about the Fatherland, making them anxious to escape". This had to be stopped, and he requests that all ships should be searched, and stowaways sent back in chains.

When Willem Adriaan drew up the regulations for the four new butchers in March 1706, an incident which so aroused Tas's disgust, we have an indication that the feeding of the slaves had hardly improved. "Bad meat," he decreed, "would be forfeit to the Company's slaves."

The way in which slaves were housed to the end may still be seen on old properties at the Cape—notably at Groot Constantia.

In November 1706 Tas's diary mentions the *Ter Aa* and her load of slaves. She was a slaver recently detailed to serve the Cape station. She met with bad weather on her way from Madagascar when she lost five of her crew and 57 of her freight of 205 slaves. "The rest ill and weak." Twenty more died after landing.

There were now over a thousand slaves in the colony. In July of the same year the *Ter Aa* went off for another load. She touched at Mauritius, where it was found that the freemen there were having trouble with fugitive slaves. The officers of the *Ter Aa* sat at the Council board and "great fear", they reported to van der Stel, "has been spread among the other slaves by means of breaking on the wheel, hanging, scourging, and branding". It seems that the Company's slaves had no happier lot under whatever commander they laboured.

In 1717 so questionable had the advantage of slave labour at the Cape become that the Council seriously discussed a proposition to abolish it. The Commander of the Garrison, Captain Dominique Pasques de Chavonnes (brother of the Governor), did his best to persuade the Council that it was bad. Unfortunately the whole issue depended upon a consideration of cost. Captain Chavonnes pointed out that in the end the slave was no economy. He worked less well than a freeman and a European. It cost money to guard him. Slave labour had no good effect upon the people who employed it, and slaves kept the place in a state of insecurity and unrest. But the Governor and the Council were not to be convinced. A slave cost only four pounds (he was to cost very considerably more in later days). There was a wide margin left for loss. Besides, slaves could be forced into submission; that was not so easy with a European. The Governor wrote to the Directorate: "Regarding the question of using farm-labourers instead of slaves, I am of opinion that the former would be more troublesome and expensive than slaves. Further, as wine and other strong drink are fairly cheap, all workmen, drivers, and the lower classes are addicted to drink, and it is extremely difficult to restrain them and keep them to their duties."

Mentzel wrote about a decade later: "If the slaves were not deterred from ill-doing by the infliction of severe punishment such as hanging, breaking on the wheel and impaling, no one's life would be safe. A European, on the other hand, must have been convicted of very serious crime before he is punished by death."

This presents a picture which justifies whatever Captain Chavonnes had to say as the critic of a social structure based upon slave labour. Even if in later years slavery presented pictures of well-to-do homes where slavery was not all drudgery, nor life entirely without joy, and where the bodies and souls of faithful retainers were affectionately cared for, the common lot of slaves presented no such rosy picture.

SHIPS

No one who finds goods of a stranded ship may keep them without making it known to H.E. the Governor.

(The punishment for offence was very severe.)

No one allowed on board the Honbl. Company's ships or on foreign ships without a permit.

(A guard against illicit trade and stowing-away.)

None of the inhabitants may sell to passing ships, our own or other nations', without permit.

None of the lessees or inn-keepers may accommodate any ships' people, much less allow them to spend the night.

In addition to these proclamations issued to the general public a special ships' plakkaat was affixed to the mainmast of every vessel by the Fiscal when she came to anchor in the bay. When foreign ships came in the farmers would receive reminders of the conditions under which the ships might be served. The Company would not provision foreign ships, nor, unless a ship were in the direst need and unable to sail again without help, would the Company sell her material for repairs. The general rule was that she might take in fresh water, bring her sick to spend the day ashore in tents, and buy food from the freemen. The freemen were allowed to charge them whatever they liked and heartily fleeced them.

For the greater part of Simon van der Stel's time foreign ships fared particularly badly. He interpreted too sternly the orders which the Directorate had given, and both French and English masters carried bitter complaints back to Europe. On one occasion in 1683 an English ship arrived on her way to Bombay with her crew so weakened by death and scurvy she could hardly get along. Van der Stel only pretended to grant her even bare necessities, ordering the farmers to excuse themselves from selling provisions on the plea of having had a bad season. This hardly pleased the farmers who lost just so much business. The following year a French ship in a desolate condition fared better. Van der Stel so far relented as to allow the crew to shop in the market. In 1685 some result of complaints appeared in an order from the Directorate that all ships in alliance with Holland were to be allowed to get provisions from the freemen.

In March 1702 Willem Adriaan van der Stel acknowledges "positive orders" in conformity with the orders of 21.4.1690, 27.8.92, and 27.8.94. "Henceforth, accordingly, we shall most sparingly supply all foreign Europeans with provisions without detriment to the friendship existing between them and the Company, and not allow their sick to spend the nights ashore under any pretext whatever; nor to carry any arms whatever; and further take care that the same number that comes ashore during the day returns on board at night."

The English Captain Daniel Beekman, at the Cape in 1714, remarks: "A ship can perish rather than be supplied with repairs, unless supplied clandestinely and heavily paid for."

In times of peace foreign ships came to be reasonably well treated, and often sailed under the protection of the Company's fleets.

The plakkaat served upon the Company's ships warned against hitting Hottentots, drawing knives, wandering inland without a permit (in 1705 one sailor of the return fleet stowed himself away in Anthony van der Lith's farm-house); against robbing gardens or having nefarious dealings with the Company's gardeners and herds; sleeping ashore or coming ashore before dawn, bringing goods ashore (especially liquor and tobacco) without a permit, and against buying from the freemen without permit. All of which there was a good deal of difficulty in enforcing. A fleet of ten ships would bring about 2,000 men.

When one begins to talk about sailing-ships in Table Bay the difficulty is to know where to end, so fascinating is the subject. Their beauty, construction, ceremonies and cargoes; their dramas lived out on the high seas, sometimes violent and sometimes a deadly monotony of hard endurance; their men of mingled nationalities, and the extremes of valour and vice which were wont to round their lives—the pirates who pursued them, and the tragic tales of wreck and disaster—all these things are to be found in the volumes of the Cape Journals and of the Letters Despatched. In a paragraph sometimes there is the plot for a boy's book of adventure, or in a line a clerk, less stolid than usual, pens a note of anxiety or of relief which after two centuries is no less alive.

Only a brief essay may be attempted here to give an impression of what the fleets meant to the lives of the colonists. Something must be said, for indeed the fleets were the background of their whole existence. They lived by them and for them. At the period of Tas's diary they had not even reached the stage when they would appeal (fruitlessly) to have little ships of their own to trade away their surplus production.

Everything was subsidiary to the needs of the fleets, but the greater their need the better off was the farmer if he could supply it. Short of a certain amount of grain, exported by the Company to Batavia when the harvest was good, and wine to a limited and uncertain extent (to increase as the years went on), home was their only market. A sail brightened everyone's eye, counted everyone's cabbages.

Besides a means of living, ships meant news, gaiety, something else to talk about, old soldier and sailor friends turned up again, even a maid or widow who might be persuaded to marry, the chance of buying home comforts, the chance to buy goods for trade.

Twice in the earlier days the excitement is recorded of the arrival of a girl in men's clothing, serving with the crew. In December 1659 Anna Rodulphus of Grietziel in Emderlandt, spinster, aged 24, arrived as a sailor; and in February 1674 Francijntje van Lint arrived as a soldier. No problem arose over either girl. Freeman promptly offered marriage. Anna died before the ceremony could take place, but Francijntje was more fortunate: "an evident example," remarks the Journal of the day, "of God's dispensations regarding all things".

Tas's diary opens with a note of his haul from the winter outward-bound fleet, and later on we find ships' people visiting Stellenbosch and taking a hand in the uproar going on there. One of the ships which Tas mentions, *Unie*, brought Peter Kolbe, a German sent out by a Baron von Krosink, and having the recommendation of Nicolas Witsen (whom Tas also mentions), a Director of the Dutch East India Company, to make astronomical observations. He so far failed to justify the confidence placed in him that five years later the Cape Government gave him the choice between becoming a freeman and subject to taxes, and being deported. He became the secretary of the burgher council of Stellenbosch, and fulfilled these duties until he returned to Germany in 1713. Meanwhile, he wrote a Description of the Cape of Good Hope which contained much useful matter and a good deal of gossip not to be seriously absorbed.

Another ship which Tas mentions, *Berkenrode*, sailed from Table Bay to be captured "after an heroic resistance" by two French privateers off St. Malo. The *Ter Aa*, a ship which arrived in April, was a yacht sent out from Texel with a cargo for the Cape, and with permission of the Directorate was retained to make a voyage to Madagascar for slaves and rice. She left on June 6th and returned after "a miserable voyage" in the following

January. (We heard of her under the heading of Slaves.) *Lockhorst* arrived in December 1705 from Batavia, bringing to everyone's relief 169 lasts of rice. Some of this had to be sent by the outward-bound *Hamer* to Mauritius, for an English ship had reported that the station there was also in bad case for provisions. (*Hamer*, by the way, had been chased by two different marauders off Lisbon the year before, but escaped.) The skipper and the book-keeper of *Lockhorst* got into trouble at the Cape because there was a deficit in their account of cargo. They were charged up with it and left to appeal to the Council at Batavia.

Tas does not mention *Ylpendam*, which arrived in October 1705, but he records his having sold two muids of peas to the distinguished visitor whom she brought to land. This was François Valentyn. He had visited the Cape twice before, and in 1714 would do so again. He wrote a valuable book about the Company's possessions in the East and included in it a description of the Cape.

For the rest, there was anxiety about the ships in the summer months of 1704-5. Tas's diary describes the extraordinary weather at Christmas time. In October and November of 1704 the Cape Journal records "ceaseless wind", a "poor harvest", and how "no one remembers anything like it before". The wind wrecked the Company's new stables, and the gables of the new hospital were "moving to and fro the whole day". The boat of a Danish ship in the bay was overturned and nine men were drowned. To make matters worse the *Genult* arrived from Texel in December having taken six months to reach Table Bay, and she had lost 52 men by death, and brought 100 sick, some of whom died while they were being carried in their hammocks from the jetty to the hospital.

For weeks the south-easter blew. In January Munkerus, the Company's cashier and husband of the Mrs. Munkerus of the diary, committed suicide, and in February a soldier snatched off Lieutenant van Rheede's hat and ran away with it very much to his own undoing. How far a continuous south-easter accounted for these eccentricities no one can say. Tas and his friends declared that the Governor had bullied Munkerus, but for the soldier it appears that not even the south-easter could suppress his *joie de vivre*.

By March the wind had "dried up everything". Cattle and sheep were dying for want of water, but the return fleet was safe. "March 6th," the Cape Journal records, "all the return ships, 12 in number, lying in the Bay today. Thank God." It got away safely,

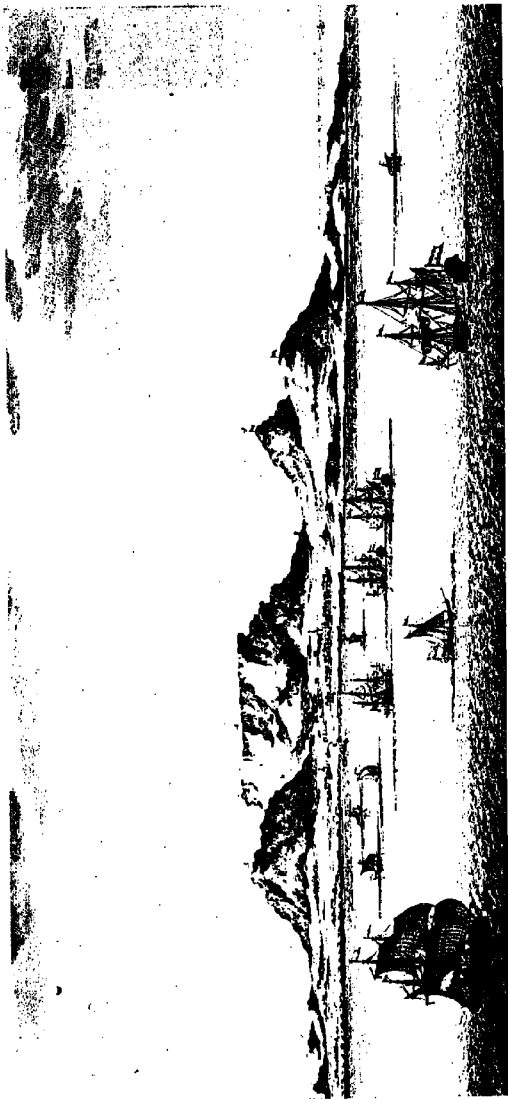


TABLE BAY.

Photograph by the courtesy of the Algemeen Rijksarchief, 's- Gravenhage, from "Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien" by Valentyn. Note the signalling flags on the Lion. The ship to the right in the foreground is a "flute" or fly-boat, as was the *Drommedaris* which brought van Riebeck to the Cape.

too. A north-west breeze sprang up in the middle of the month and there was a little rain. On the 26th the Governor gave his annual dinner to the officers of the fleet, the usual service was held to pray for the fleet's safety, and the crews were drummed back to their ships.

By June and July the failure of the crops was making itself felt. The provision ship from Batavia had not arrived. Van der Stel sent the *Ter Aa* to Madagascar for rice as well as slaves, and landed biscuit and bread from the winter fleet. He tried to get 400 muids of wheat from the farmers but could get only 100.

Then came December. All seemed to be well. On the 3rd the Cape Journal records: "The crops of barley and rye shew that for many years no harvest has been so abundant as the present. The same result expected from wheat and grapes." And on December 17th: "Wheat being gathered in. Thank God—a success." Alas! December 25th: "A very heavy rain . . . no sun visible . . . as if all the fountains of Heaven had been opened. The oldest inhabitant 'never saw anything like it'."

As Tas tells us, the wind blew "all ways". Now north-west, and now a south-west storm, then a south-east hurricane. "Waters were spreading everywhere like a lake," and a week later washed away the sheaves which had been spread to dry.

However, the return fleet came to no harm. It sailed on the 4th April: fifteen Dutch East Indiamen accompanied by nine English. What a sight they must have been standing out to sea, and what gunnery must have reverberated to Stellenbosch as they saluted the Castle when they left the Bay and were saluted in return! In one of the ships travelled the four burghers, carrying their complaints to Holland. Tas heard them go from a cell in the Castle. The famous, or as the Secretariat thought infamous, diary, plus the desk it was written on and all its contents, was under lock and key in the Castle, too. Ships would come and ships would go until April 16th, 1707, when before a westerly wind and under a cloudy sky the *Cattendyk* would arrive and bring news that the burghers had been acquitted of conspiracy, and that the prisoners in the Castle should be released.

Every traveller who has entered Table Bay is familiar with the sight of the signal-station on the Lion Mountain. Like every Capetonian he will come to set his watch right by the report of the noon gun from there. (Five seconds late, as it is fired from the Royal Observatory.) Table Bay's signal-station has been housed on the Lion since van Riebeeck arrived, and we cannot omit saying something about it.

The Lion reposes with its rump commanding the entrance to the docks, in full view from the ramparts of the Castle to the east of it. Today a road runs along the Lion's spine, and its inquisitive motorist may have the satisfaction of discovering within ten minutes or so what is going on behind the slumbering colossus. When, as he turns into the road from the Head end, he looks down upon the other side, he sees one of the rocky inlets round which the Company's little galiots sailed to Hout Bay, and where so many tall ships in the course of time, both sail and steam, have blundered or have been blown to their destruction. A long and lovely coastal drive will take him all the way round if he wishes. Masses of houses and hotels cover the coastline as far as Bantry Bay, and holiday cottages break out again wherever there is a pleasant cove. Camps Bay, which is named after a German, von Kamptsz, who came into possession of the land above it in 1779, is fast becoming a veritable Brighton—all grown up within the last 50 years.

Perhaps your companion is old enough to remember when Camps Bay was really a campers' haven (and might even have been supposed to be named for that reason), where only the few houses of the advance guard stood. He will tell you how he and the other young men who spent the summer there walked to their offices in Cape Town every morning, up from the sea and through the Kloof Nek. He will glower at the ranks of fir trees which have supplanted the wealth of indigenous shrubs and flowers he used to know.

Let us turn to the north and observe what would meet the eye of the seafarer when he arrived in 1705. Below you is Green Point Common, windswept and barren beneath a threadbare garment of green. Van Riebeeck tried to grow grain there and it was blown out of the ear. (Nothing has grown there since, but it is a grateful open space used as playing fields.) Turn eastward and the whole map of Table Bay lies spread out before you. You see how Robben Island commands its entrance. You see what was once Paarden Island, where the Company used to graze its horses and mules, vanished now under the reclamation scheme and the new Duncan Dock. In the old days it was really an island, made by an inlet of the sea combining with the mouth of the stream called the Diep River. Sloops and ships' boats could sail between the island and the mainland. You see the Castle, almost on the shoreline, though the railway runs between it and the sea today. Below the Castle, just to the left, the little jetty ran out into the sea.

This was where the ships watered. Van Riebeeck built the jetty of timber in 1656. Before this the seamen had to wade in, sometimes up to their necks in water, and that caused sickness. Later on it was strengthened and lengthened. Look back over your shoulder at Table Mountain and you will see the source of the water supply: Platteklip Gorge. (The excrescence to the west of it is the modern cable station, unhappily breaking the sky-line of the Table's majestic symmetry.)

There were many buildings within the walls of the Castle in 1705: the Governor's house (the charming porch or "kat" was not built until very much later), where the Council of Policy held its sessions, and where proclamations were read and criminals heard their doom with the assembled populace in the courtyard; the house of the Commander of the garrison, into the strong-room of which the money-chests of the Company's ships were brought while the ships were in the bay; the Secunde's house and several others. Here came Tas when he visited Mr. Kina, a clerk in the pay-office; Mr. Willem van Putten the warehouse master, Mr. Poulle the senior clerk in the Secretariat and superintendent of auctions; and Mr. de Wet, the cellar-master.

All the Company's artisans had their workshops within the outer wall, subject still to service as soldiers if an emergency occurred. Beneath the Buuren bastion were the guard-rooms of the patrol which examined and reported upon every waggon-load of produce which passed into the town. No one, not even a horse-man, might enter the town without passing the patrol.

Over the gateway of the Castle hung a bell which rang at intervals all day beginning at four o'clock in the morning. Two trumpeters and a piper assisted in the latter inexorable reveille. The bell was struck by hand. The saying went: "Beware of the land where the bell is struck by hand." The custom has been attributed peculiarly to the Company's castle at the Cape, implying a warning that much hard work and little fortune awaited the adventurer there. But I have read somewhere that the Company's bells in the East were also struck by hand, when the saying appears to have been a warning in general against the Company's parsimony.

Let us withdraw our eyes to the top of the Heerengracht. Here lay the Company's garden, its geometrically precise compartments high-hedged to break the wind, and its central walk the famous "Avenue" of today. Above it in 1705 we should have seen a few gracious houses surrounded by wide estates: Leeuwenhof already there, the Fiscal Blesius living in it. Just outside the

gates of the Company's garden stood the slave lodge, next to the new church, and opposite the church the new hospital.

There were hardly more than a couple of hundred houses in the little town, and five streets besides the Heerengracht. One street, a new one, the Keisersgracht (now Darling Street) leading out of the town; the other four leading off the Heerengracht in the direction of the Lion. The sea broke on the strand close behind the houses in Zeestraat, now Strand Street and well inland. There are several substantial houses amongst them, embellished with a stoep, or uncovered verandah, ascended by steps of small Dutch bricks or of slate from Robben Island. The Company's chief surgeon, Willem ten Damme, lived in Zeestraat, and Husing's Town house, rented from the van der Stels, stood on the corner first to the left after leaving the Heerengracht. In the next generation there will be more men sufficiently prosperous to have a house in the town as well as their farms.

Now we must turn from this picture to the "flagmen" or signallers, whom we really ascended the Lion to meet. How were the ships signalled? As soon as van Riebeeck arrived he established a signaller, a flagpole, and a gun on the Lion. In March 1673 a signal-box to act in collaboration with the earlier one on the rump was established on Lion's Head. (From Lion's Head a man can sight a ship on a clear day 30 to 40 miles to sea.) He climbed the last lap of the Head by a rope ladder. The flagpole was struck down by lightning almost immediately, and this happened several times, but it was always promptly set up again.

For a description of the signallers' routine we are indebted to Mentzel. He tells us that only two men were in charge of operations. They took turns in taking charge now of the head then of the rump, a week at a time. The man at the head lived in a cottage on the saddle between the head and Table Mountain. Every year the Directorate supplied new code flags to be used by these men, which assured the Company's incoming ships that the Cape was still in the Company's possession. When the signaller at the head sighted a ship he flew his flag and fired a shot. If more than one ship was in sight he fired a shot for each ship. He would then mount a conspicuous rock and indicate with his outstretched arm the direction from which the ship approached. Thus was the look-out on the Castle ramparts informed.

The second signaller now went into action. At his lower level he would not sight the ship for about two hours. When he did so he hoisted his flag and fired his gun. The next man in sequence to sight the ship would be the look-out on Robben

Island. He hoisted the Prince's flag: the red, white, and blue ensign. Finally, the ship would be sighted from the Catzenellebogen bastion of the Castle and up would go the Prince's flag there.

Now the harbour-master (it was Jan Brommert in Willem Adriaan's time) would send out a pilot-boat as guide to the anchorage, and to receive a report for the Governor upon the number of sick and any other matter necessary for him to know immediately.

Meanwhile, much activity has been going on in the Castle. The sergeant has despatched a lance-corporal formally to apprise the Governor of the ship's approach. If it is the return fleet which is heralded, much ceremony will attend the arrival. The Governor will board the flagship to conduct ashore some home-ward-bound high-ranking Company's official who will act as Commissioner at the Cape. Possibly, his family will be travelling with him. The garrison under arms and the Cape burgher militia will provide a guard of honour. Volleys of musket fire and the boom of cannon will leave the settlement in little doubt about what has happened.

Salutes were always an unequal number of shots, and the Castle replied with two less. The Castle, however, did not reply to the salutes of its own ships except upon the arrival of the return fleet, when 21 shots would salute the Castle if the fleet were commanded by a full admiral which the Castle would reply to with 19, and so on down the scale. Other than this, the Company's ships were not encouraged to give way to extraordinary expressions of emotion upon entering the bay. Ceremony, having so many symbolic explanations, had to be strictly observed. In 1704 *Hamer* got into trouble for dressing ship as she re-entered the bay. The Castle was startled by a salute of five guns from Robben Island, and the sight of the Prince's flag floating in the breeze there. There should have been only one explanation: that the Governor was on board. As the Governor was ashore an acid message went across to the Superintendent of the island to know what he was about. It turned out that the mate of *Hamer* thought it would be amusing to hoax the Robben Island flagman. The Superintendent was absolved from blame and assured that *Hamer's* mate would "feel the resentment of the Governor in such a way that neither he nor any other servant of the Company will ever attempt to do such a thing again".

Foreign ships, on the other hand, were expected to observe a particular etiquette in the matter of salutes. It was a great discourtesy to enter or to leave the bay without saluting the Castle.

Once a ship excused herself because she had an elephant on board and her excuse was accepted. Short of so sensitive a cargo she was expected to mind her manners or at best she left behind her a sour comment in the Journal of the day, and at worst might find hospitality reduced to vanishing point. Such a boor might be a pirate for all that her papers appeared to be a smiling sheet of innocence. She was only too like to have stolen them.

Pirates at this time were an abiding menace, and would continue to be so for another 15 years. The Cape Journals make numberless references to them. The saving grace of the *Ter Aa's* wretched voyage was, as the Journal remarks, that she ran into no pirates. Headquarters for pirates' operations eastwards was in Madagascar. The English Government had for several years been trying to dislodge them, and had offered pardon to pirates who would give themselves up. Willem Adriaan van der Stel had little faith in this manoeuvre, and wrote in March 1705 expressing the belief that the promise of pardon was not always honoured. There were said to be 1,500 pirates in Madagascar in 1705, including Captain Kidd.

The Company sent out three fleets annually to the East unless war disturbed the programme. The earlier part of the 18th century was the peak period of the Company's prosperity, and this meant from 60 to 70 ships a year. The ships sailed from Texel where they were requisitioned, though the recruiting for them took place centrally in Amsterdam, and in the capital towns of the other Chambers. The Company could not man her ships entirely with Netherlanders. Far from it. Men of all nations found their way into the fleets, and so large a number of Germans as to make a lasting impression upon the national make-up of the Cape Colony. (Germans, as belonging to a non-maritime nation, were welcomed as freemen, not only in this earlier period, but all through the period of the Company's possession.)

A normal passage to the Cape took about four months, but with luck the passage could be done in three. Tas mentions four Zeelanders (that is to say, ships equipped by Zeeland) which had taken under three months. In spite of improvements in construction and in the design of sails this could not be bettered at any period. In van Riebeeck's Journal, half a century earlier, there is mention of a ship which made the passage in just over three months. (Van Riebeeck himself in the flute or fly-boat, *Drommedaris*, took just over ten weeks.) Sails were multiplied and made smaller so that about the middle of the 18th century fewer hands were required to deal with them and crews were less, but

for the most part the rest depended upon luck. Mentzel tells us that it took 70 or 80 men to hoist the mainsail of a first-rate Dutch East Indiaman at the period we are considering. He tells us, too, that her mast was 170 feet high, her bowsprit 80 feet long, her keel 182 feet, her width 42 feet, and that her great anchor weighed some 40 tons. Such ships would carry round about 300 men, soldiers and sailors.

Luck consisted in escaping being becalmed on the Line. A ship might be held up for five or six weeks with all the accompanying ills of scurvy and death. If the passage lasted longer than four months she might expect to have at least a third of her crew down with scurvy. Every now and then a ship would arrive with hardly enough men to sail her.

In 1695 and '96 Simon van der Stel wrote very frankly to the Directors about the distressing death-roll in their ships. He tells them:

"The chief causes are the very long voyages by the northern route [round the north of Scotland to prevent the return ships' disposing of contraband in the channel, and in war-time as a precaution against privateers], and all the accidents met with in consequence and suffered by the men. Add to this the bad outfit of the sailors, and especially of the soldiers, many of the latter being deserters and afflicted with army diseases. They are put on board almost unprovided with everything, and become dirty and wet from bad weather, and rain, and pumping water for the condensers. Having no change they are obliged to turn in with their wet clothes; this causes a close, stinking atmosphere to the great injury of general health. One infects the other and many, without asking whether their bodies can bear it, go and sleep in the open air during the night. Then there is the unvaried consumption of salt meat and pork, and especially of grey and white peas which are the daily pot-food, and in length of time become musty in the hold, whilst the beer likewise becomes sour . . ."

Simon van der Stel's remarks could have made little impression. In 1785 the Chief Surgeon at the Cape, where there were now two hospitals, submits a report in which he reminds the Directorate that he speaks out of "more than 20 years' experience", and asks for an additional physician to be appointed: "Not only are more sick brought here than before but the sicknesses are more severe . . . Often an outward-bound ship brings 100 to 180 patients, so that the numbers in hospital often amount to 900 to 1,000 men. . . ."

While there was still only one hospital Simon van der Stel was instrumental in getting a new one built to replace the old one which was "falling to bits". It was situated, too, on the beach exposed to the full force of the gales, and in summer to the smells of the beach. The new one was built on the Heerengracht and was opened in October 1699. Mentzel gives us a plan of it. It was designed to take 500 patients and 750 at a push. Sick men were replaced in the ships by men left behind by former ships and cured. Sometimes the fleet's ten days' sojourn at the Cape was sufficient to put quite bad cases on their feet again.

The busiest time of the year for the Cape station was from the end of January to the first week in April. The ships of the outward-bound Michaelmas fleet began sailing in towards the end of January, and the last of this fleet would be in the bay when the slower sailors of the return fleet (sent off ahead of the main squadron from Batavia and Ceylon) began to arrive. In the middle of March occurred the great event of the year—the arrival of the main body of the return fleet.

"Arrival of 12 return ships," reports the Journal in March 1704, "a beautiful sight to see them gradually sailing up the bay with a gentle north-west breeze." On this occasion the flagship did not lead the procession. She was anchored off Robben Island, having lost her mainmast off Mauritius, and having been prevented until now by a south-easter from entering the bay. One of the station's ships sent to her with refreshments had been blown out to sea, and another boat moored to her side with two slaves in it had been lost. She had also lost two anchors in the effort to hold on where she was.

At this period the return fleet was worth half a million pounds sterling or more. Of provisions from the Cape she would require three to four hundred head of cattle and three times that amount of sheep.

The prevailing winds at the Cape are the south-east in summer and the north-west in winter. Variable winds served the ships at any time of the year, but the peak season of either south-east or north-west was something to be reckoned with. The south-east blows from the land and prevented ships from entering the bay, at any rate under sail, and towing a ship was no light matter. In April of the wild summer of 1704 the *Schoonderloo's* boat was swamped and eight men drowned in such an attempt. It was, however, the north-west wind that was the great danger. It piled up heavy seas and drove the ships shorewards. With all their anchors down the hold sometimes was not enough. One recollects the

terrible catastrophes of June 1722 and of May 1737. In 1722 there were ten ships in the bay and every one of them drove ashore; 660 men were drowned, and the financial loss was a quarter of a million pounds. In 1737 nine ships drove ashore. Only one ship in the bay was saved, and that by the ingenuity of her mate who attached three cannon to the anchor cable.

Fishing for lost anchors was the least troublesome sequel to a gale in Table Bay.

It is surprising that the Company took so long before it used False Bay as a winter harbour, especially as there were several bays at the cherry. Contrary reports about it is the answer. By land it was difficult to get at the bay within the bay (Simon's Bay) which provided the perfect winter shelter; the soil was poor—vegetables would not thrive. An early report declared that water was scarce. In Simon van der Stel's time a better survey was made, but nothing came of it. Willem Adriaan, instructed to make further investigations, attempted his object by land, and appears to have got no further than Kalk Bay. Scrambling round the virgin mountains was rather different then from what it is today. It was not until 1742 that these difficulties were overcome and the ships began to use Simon's Bay, which Simon had named after himself. Previously it had been known as Ijsselsteijn Bay, after a ship which had put in there. In 1753 the Directorate issued an order that all ships were to use Simon's Bay from April to September.

Meanwhile, Saldanha Bay had proved a haven of refuge for many a hard-driven ship. Had it not been for the lack of fresh water and the barren surrounding soil it might have supplanted Table Bay. Van Riebeeck had taken possession of it, and in 1676 it was formally annexed afresh, the freemen Saldanha fishermen being entrusted with two stones which they were to set up, one with the Arms of the United Provinces, the other with the device of the Company: V.O.C. Not seldom the Saldanha fishermen would bring news to the Castle of a ship in Saldanha Bay, one of the Company's in distress, or a foreign ship. In April 1704 the Company's ship *Blois* and an English ship took refuge there together. Both were warned that they might not sail from thence to Europe. They had to get into Table Bay somehow and report themselves. Meantime, refreshments were sent overland, accompanied by continual reminders to get out as soon as possible. In October of the same year two of the Company's ships caught in a terrific south-easter took refuge there; one with the loss of masts, and men generally in a bad way. Moreover, the captain had gout. They were both held up for well over a month. It was an

ideal harbour for repairs, and as such was used by the station. *Ter Aa* was packed off up there to be cleaned.

It is tempting to enlarge upon the famous seamen who put into Table Bay during the first 50 years of Dutch settlement, and made a casual appearance in the Journals, their fame known better to posterity. But these notes already grow too long. We might mention Dampier, who came in 1691, and we cannot pass Willem de Vlamingh, both famed for their voyages to the Southland—Australia. Willem de Vlamingh anchored in October 1696 on the expedition which found Dirk Hartog's pewter plate, inscribed with his name, nailed to a fallen post on the tiny island in the Roads which he discovered. It bore the date 1616. Vlamingh's fleet brought back three black swans as a present to the Government of Batavia.

In 1657 van Riebeeck was ordered to divert a vessel to the Southland to search for the main body of the men and for the cargo (the latter often, it seems the greater concern of the Company in disaster) of the *Draeck*, wrecked on the Southland in the previous year.

Wrecks sometimes made history. The one most significant to us was the wreck of the *Stavenisse* on the coast of Natal in February 1686. The crew fell in with Englishmen and Frenchmen of two other wrecked ships. Some of the men were building a little vessel in which eventually all, with the exception of a handful who preferred to remain in Natal, reached Table Bay. The event led to expeditions up the coast to investigate the affair, and produced a greater knowledge of Natal than the Cape Government had previously possessed.

TIMBER AND FUEL

None of the inhabitants shall chop fuel other than by permit and at the places appointed; nor take more than permitted to him.

None of the inhabitants at the Cape shall chop fuel nor cause it to be fetched other than at or from Hout Bay over the Lange Hoogte [Constantia Nek] Everyone shall be obliged as often as he brings a load of fuel from Hout Bay to bring away with him four stumps of kreupelboom. [Brushwood—a species of protea.]

None without permit may fell any timber; nor may he take from the dunes any wood or branches.

None of the inhabitants may use piles [wandpalen] for the erection of house, pen, or corral.

None of the inhabitants, whether Company's servant or freeman, shall graze or cause to be grazed, horses, oxen, cows, calves, sheep, nor any cattle within the Company's new plantation nor thereabouts from Papenboom [Newlands] to the Company's barn. [Groot Schuur, Rondebosch.]

Many of the inhabitants without consent or order presume, whenever it appears good to them, to invade the reeds and not only take their pleasure there but also in many places ruin the same . . . to prevent such irregularities we have decided . . . to decree that nobody henceforth shall cut or fetch any thatching-reed from what place so ever it may be, before he has obtained from us a proper permit.

He who sets fire without permit to any grass or veld shall be thrashed.

I have put the latter edict under this head, though it might perhaps come more properly under the head of Agriculture. It is placed here because regulation of veld-burning was primarily bound up with the destruction it caused to timber, reeds, and shrubs. Houses, crops, and plantations of young trees all suffered, and as Willem Adriaan van der Stel complained, acres of thatching reed were destroyed. Van Riebeeck issued his first warning against this evil in the spring of 1658, reminding the farmers that a fire so started the previous year had reached a man's crops. Later, in 1668, his successor discovered what ultimate damage veld-firing did to the grazing, and proclaimed against it. Simon van der Stel issued repeated warnings, and when in 1687 a freeman farmer in company with his neighbour, a black freeman, Anthoni of Angola, caused considerable damage by firing the veld he prohibited it everywhere unless a man had a permit. By 1692 he had become so impatient of disregarded orders that he declared offenders should be thrashed.

Shortage of timber at the Cape soon became a difficulty, and by the end of the 17th century had become acute. Except for

the Hout Bay forest, which is still referred to in Willem Adriaan van der Stel's time as the "large forest", what indigenous timber remained was for the most part up inaccessible kloofs. Even at Hout Bay the more substantial timber suitable for planks, beams, and masts must have been approaching exhaustion on the lower slopes of the mountain which waggons could reach, or from which logs might be dragged without a prohibitive expenditure of labour.

Van Riebeeck was filled with enthusiasm when he discovered the forests behind Table Mountain, slopes which he called collectively the Bosbergen, and which spread to the banks of the Liesbeeck. He writes to the Directorate expressing his astonishment that so many East India voyagers had maintained that no timber was to be found at the Cape. The report was particularly surprising as in the forest he found dates carved upon the trees: 1604, 1620, and 1622. He soon realised that the explanation was the difficulty of transporting the timber. He writes then that it would be cheaper to get timber from Holland. He indents for Norwegian deals and continues to require imported timber.

He was obliged, however, to get over the difficulty of procuring timber from the Bosbergen. He made a waggon road from the fort to the Rondebosch-Claremont mountain slopes. Further round the mountain the timbered slopes of what is now the National Botanic Gardens (Kirstenbosch) also came under requisition, and in 1657 when the first grants of land were made a freeman sawyer, Leendert Cornelisz, was granted the use of Kirstenbosch. It was known as Leendert's forest.

Hout Bay (Wood Bay), "the finest forest in the world", according to van Riebeeck, was discovered almost as soon as the Bosbergen. There van Riebeeck found magnificent timber such as we see today in the forests of Knysna. He hoped that it might easily be dragged to the beach, whence it could be picked up by the station's galiot, but this was far from easy to come by. The forested slopes were too far from the beach and too steep. It would have to be transported by land, and this offered no better prospect than the Bosbergen. He found it necessary before he left to protect yellow-wood and to reserve it for planks. In 1666 a rough waggon road was hacked "over the Bosheuvel" to Hout Bay, and Simon van der Stel lengthened and improved it, and the completed road was opened in February 1693.

In van Riebeeck's time an enormous amount of building was done with timber. He brought out with him some timber dwelling-houses from Holland (which soon collapsed under the force of the Cape gales), and most of the earlier building was of timber.

Houses and store-houses were sometimes even roofed with tarred timber. He built the jetty and the watercourse of wood and the outer case of the fort, lined a little later with brick as a precaution against fire. The palisades of his historic hedge or "pega-pega", erected in 1659 to prevent the Hottentots from driving stolen cattle away from the farms, represented the death of hundreds of trees. Each pole was eight feet long, burnt at the end set into the ground to preserve it. The timber for this came from Leendert's forest. Cross spars joined these poles together, and in an outer circle van Riebeeck planted thorn bushes and wild almond.

Ten years after he left the Cape, when timber was needed for a redoubt, no trees larger in circumference than six to seven inches could be found in the Bosbergen. The timber needed in the building of the new stone castle, built in the 'seventies, had to be sent from Holland.

Yet not until Simon van der Stel came into office was a determined effort made to restore the denuded forest lands. He did not stop at restricting the felling of timber to certain areas not reserved as the Company's, but forbade it to everyone except by permit. In 1683 he issued a proclamation warning the inhabitants that the prevalent disregard of the regulations about timber and fuel must cease. He tells them in effect that the forests are subjected to extravagant claims and wanton destruction. In a few years there will not be a plank or a beam to be had out of them. Moreover, the Directors have informed him that cargoes of timber from the Fatherland will not be forthcoming in future. (A threat which could remain no more than a threat.)

He adopted the seemingly wise and just plan—"best to serve the community"—of giving the Company's forest at Hout Bay into the charge of two freemen sawyers, other than whom none was to fell timber, and from whom everyone was to procure such timber as he required, having first applied to the Secretariat for a permit. The sawyers were given a ten-year contract also to supply the Company with planks.

None the less, in 1691 he has to return to the charge. The people have disregarded his warning and his commands. They go into the forests as they like, he complains, felling young and old timber, so that the forests are like to be finally exterminated. Again he forbids it, and issues the proclamation which forbade the use of piles in the building of houses, etc. Walls were to be built of brick or clay or whatever the builder thought fit other than timber.

Incidentally, this edict probably improved the domestic architecture of the time. Farm buildings had been commonly constructed of what we call today "wattle and daub", that is to say, of withies plaited together, packed with clay, sometimes plastered, and always whitewashed. This framework was evidently attached to, and filled the interstices between, stout poles, the use of which Simon forbade. He was equally concerned with the need to have houses built of less inflammable material. At this time he also decreed that fuel-carriers should each dig out his share of roots, so that tree and brushwood seeds would have room to propagate.

With this vigorous attempt at conservation Simon van der Stel also set to work to replant the old forests of the Bosbergen with oak and other timber, and made the planting of trees a condition of his grants of land at Stellenbosch and Drakenstein. Thousands upon thousands of young oaks were planted at the instance of Simon van der Stel, and to him the Cape Peninsula and the district of Stellenbosch owe much of their beauty.

These young plantations set out by Simon van der Stel could not reach a maturity of much service to the son who followed him, and the abiding shortage of timber is reflected in Tas's diary. Willem Adriaan, like his father, sent thousands of young saplings to the country districts to be planted out by the farmers. Simon van der Stel had trouble in getting the farmers to take care of them—they grumbled that they harboured birds which ate the grain. Even in the streets of the village, one day to be lovely avenues of shade, the young trees were wantonly damaged. In 1702 Willem Adriaan van der Stel sent up to the Landdrost an alarming picture of what happened to a man who destroyed a young tree. The Landdrost was required to pin it up where all might see it, shudder, and refrain.

Willem Adriaan had hardly arrived in office before we find him discussing in Council the shortage of timber. It was decided to send out a ship to visit certain islands, Dina and Maersseveen, reported by passing ships to be rich in timber, and marked on the chart as lying 41 degrees and 42 degrees south, about 120 leagues from the Cape. (The islands had been discovered by Captain Barent Barentsz Ham, who sailed from Texel and anchored in Table Bay February 1663. *Maersseveen* was the name of his ship.)

There was not enough suitable timber to be found in the Cape forests to effect repairs to a ship in the bay. The skipper returned from this expedition complaining that he could not find the islands and that they could not be on the spot marked in his chart. Doubt-

less, the reckoning of longitude being (for want of exact time-keepers) what it was at the period, the islands had taken unto themselves rather more distance than 120 leagues from the Cape.

Willem Adriaan inspected the forests and in his subsequent report to the Directorate upon the timber situation at the Cape described the forests as destitute of serviceable timber. There were plantations of oak, he said, five to seven years old to which he had recently added 30,000 young trees. Twenty thousand oaks were sent to Stellenbosch at the same time. (Perhaps the oak which Tas so carefully transplanted to the front of his house was one of them.) In June 1700 he issued a special proclamation yet once more warning the freemen that it was against the regulations to fell timber and to gather fuel without a permit. The master-woodcutter got into trouble for being in collusion with the freemen and supplying all the best fuel to them, while the ships' officers complained that the fuel supplied to the ships was poor and wet.

Willem Adriaan appealed both to Holland and to Batavia for timber. Batavia sent only 350 teak planks when what he had asked for was 3,000. True, it was difficult for Batavia to find room in the homeward-bound ships, but Holland promised to send supplies. Outward-bound ships were often half empty. The Paradise woods (Claremont slopes) did manage to supply in March 1701 the timber needed to build the bridge over the Eerste River at Stellenbosch, which bridge Tas mentions during the floods.

In 1701 and in 1702 cargoes of timber arrived from Holland. Then no more. In 1703 the Company's master-carpenter got into trouble. He could not account for timber missing from his charge. Presently Willem Adriaan complained to the Directorate that no timber had been received from Holland for two years. "Not only are the Company's works delayed, but many houses of the inhabitants have been left unfinished." (His father made the same complaint.) For want of wood the freeman cooper, Jan Brink, is out of work, and has to be given a free passage to Batavia because he cannot support his family. He was not the first nor the last artisan in the course of years to make the same request for the lack of timber.

Tas complains in his diary that he cannot get the planks he wants and declares that the greed of the Company's servants is at the bottom of it, and that they took all the available timber for themselves. On June 11th *Zandhorst* anchored in the bay laden, Tas says, with timber for the Cape. Some share of it he did get, if not his planks. Whether or not his accusation was justified, the

fact remained that the supply of imported timber fell short of the demand whatever Governor was in office. In March 1705 Willem Adriaan, in his despatch to the Directorate, ascribes a fall in the profits of the previous year as partly due to there having been no timber for sale, especially as the Company sold timber to the freemen at a profit of 75 per cent.

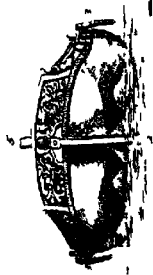
As the supply of imported timber continued to be so uncertain it became even more imperative to seek for timber within reasonable sailing distance of the station's galiots. In November 1705 Willem Adriaan sent the galiot *Postlooper* off to Natal. Her skipper was charged (as ships sent up the East coast now and then from van Riebeeck's time had been charged) to examine the possibilities of trade, and particularly to look for timber. *Postlooper* returned the following May with the report that no substantial timber was to be found in the Port of Natal. The bits and pieces she brought would serve only for spokes and poles, and so forth. Moreover, her captain had been killed crossing the bar, when the rudder struck him in the chest, and the crew condemned the harbour as too dangerous of approach.

They had found a Londoner living there, one Vaughan Goodwin, who with two companions had been landed seven years before by the captain of an English ship who cherished visions of being able to return and form a colony. The natives had killed Goodwin's companions. He himself had made his life with the natives, acquired a couple of wives and some children, and expressed no desire to return to civilisation. Two of *Postlooper's* crew had deserted and thrown in their lot with him.

While *Postlooper* was away Willem Adriaan also sent to Mauritius for timber for a hundred waggons. Holland had sent out 12 waggons, but they were too light for Cape work and had to be converted into hand-carts. Mauritius had supplied the Cape with small quantities of ebony and other timber all along the years. In December another cargo of timber arrived from Holland, but it was of inferior quality and had to be sold off cheaply.

An amusing little sidelight upon Tas's complaint occurs in the official Journal after Willem Adriaan was no longer in office. Apparently, the timber, good and less good, was exposed for sale in the Company's warehouse at fixed prices. Naturally the farmers picked the best they could get for the money. This, the warehouse-master complained to the Council, resulted in the Company's having to make do with all the inferior stuff—so much so that during the previous year "a large quantity had to be sold off by auction at a great loss". He suggests sorting the timber, when

SLOEP van Achteren



SLOEP van Vooren



Verklaaring der 4 Figuren
1. Voor-steren, 2. Achter-steren, 3. Hiltien
4. Wyl, allen 3. Maakte bene

SLOEP op Zyr, zo by Vaart



From an engraving in Ullrich's *Nieuw Hollandsche Schepschone* published 1695

SHIP'S BOAT
Photograph reproduced by courtesy of the
Nederlandsch Historisch Scheepvaart Museum Amsterdam

the best should be set aside for the Company. The rest, he was sure "would fetch as much as, if not more than, the best quality". The Council "decided accordingly".

Again, in May 1710, when the Council had been complaining of a "general want of timber", a ship brought a cargo of timber with instructions from the Directorate to the Council that it was to be sold at 100% profit instead of at 75%. What remained after this levy had been extracted from the colonists was to be sold by public auction.

In 1711 Willem van Putten, a member of the Secretariat, and Jan Hartog, who was head-gardener in Willem Adriaan's time, were sent to make examination of the wooded kloofs rising above the River Zonder Eind (River Without End), which had been reported by garrison men, out upon expeditions to barter cattle from the Hessaqua Hottentots. They found timber enough but transport was a heavy problem. The idea that it might be brought by sea was given up for "hitherto all voyages eastward have proved disastrous".

In course of time the great forests of the Outeniqua were to be discovered, but it would be several generations before a little coaster sailed into Table Bay with the first cargo of Knysna timber.

None the less the Cape would go on clamouring for timber, and the Union still does. Her own indigenous hard woods are slow-growing and expensive, and her soft woods cannot be put to the same purposes of general utility as the European product. After the late war we echoed the cry of the van der Stels: "Many houses of the inhabitants remain unfinished," and thus they remained until the "Norwegian deals" coveted by van Riebeeck, and all the rest arrived from Europe.

TOBACCO

All the tobacco brought to, or unlawfully obtained by, private persons shall be confiscated, and over and above the seller shall be fined. . . .

Tobacco was an important item of trade, not only to meet the requirements of the European but also for barter with the Hottentot. Van Riebeeck hoped to grow it at the Cape. He experimented with seed and in 1656 wrote to the Directors that "tobacco-growing promises favourably". He looked forward to planting "a large quantity" from seed won from the crop in the ground. The Chamber of Amsterdam sent out more seed in March of that year, and when in the following year the first freemen were granted their lands on the banks of the Liesbeeck (then, by the way, called the Amstel), its propagation was given into the hands of Steven Jansz Botma who "was well acquainted with tobacco culture". He had looked after the last year's crop and now was given as an addition to his grant the plot upon which the tobacco was growing. He was in partnership with three other men and they called their property "The Dutch Garden". It was also called "Steven's Colony" as Botma was the senior man.

Steven and Company were among the men for whom there were not enough ploughs, and to compensate them for the arduous labour of digging acres of Africa with a spade they were given a waggon and six oxen.

The Commissioner the Governor-General Rykloff van Goens, in superintending the disposal of these early grants of land and in drawing up the conditions of ownership, decided that tobacco-culture, like everything else, must defer to the all-important claims of wheat. Steven was allowed to preserve his little plot, but other men were not allowed to experiment with the plant. To Steven's chagrin some Hottentots descended upon the barrels which contained his gathered harvest and robbed him of 100 lbs. of green leaf. These particular Hottentots were later identified as belonging to a tribe calling itself Chorachouqua, but for ever after the tribe is referred to in van Riebeeck's diary as the "Tobacco Thieves".

The Directors were pleased to hear that tobacco would grow at the Cape. Cape tobacco "would do for the natives", or if it proved to be good it might be sent to the Indies. They instructed van Riebeeck to send a sample to them. In September 1659 their

opinion of the sample arrived. The freemen might be allowed to grow it, they said, and sell it to the ships, but the Company would not be prepared to buy any. The sample was poor tobacco.

The next development was an edict forbidding the freemen to grow it lest the Hottentots should learn to do so, and the Company's barter value of tobacco be destroyed. A few years after van Riebeeck left, and again in 1676, very strict regulations were promulgated about all tobacco. People could sell it only if they bought from the Company's warehouse, and at a fixed price. It was being smuggled ashore from the ships. People were also using it for bartering ivory and various marketable trifles from the Hottentots, thus further damaging the Company's interests, for if the Hottentots could get tobacco for odds and ends they would be all the more reluctant to trade their precious cattle for it.

None the less, illegal trade in tobacco continued to flourish, even to the point of markedly affecting the sales of tobacco from the Company's warehouse. Simon van der Stel concerned himself about this soon after he arrived. He found that men, both farmers and soldiers in charge of the Company's outposts, were growing tobacco; the Hottentots learning how to grow it, and it was being used for bartering with the Hottentots. He discussed the matter with the Commissioner of 1681. The Commissioner then placed tobacco on the list of licences which the freemen might purchase annually at public auction. Lessees were to procure their stock from the Company and sell it at a fixed price. Everyone was forbidden to grow it.

As time went on the auction of the tobacco lease proved to be the least productive of profit to the Company. The public, apparently, still contrived to get hold of tobacco by devious means, and it was worth no one's while to pay much for a monopoly to retail it. In 1705 the Governor reported this to the Directorate and pending instructions withdrew it from auction and sold it from the warehouse at 50 per cent. profit. (Rather less than 1s. 6d. lb.) This plan was finally confirmed in 1708 by the Directorate and the tobacco lease abolished.

In 1719 the Directors decided to make a trial of growing tobacco at the Cape as a marketable product. They sent out a tobacco expert, one Cors Hendricks, to test the possibility of producing satisfactory tobacco crops. Hendricks raised crops at Rondebosch on the Company's land and also in the Company's garden in town. The report upon the flavour of the leaf was no better than in 1659. Nothing further was attempted and Hendricks became a freeman.

TRADE

None of the inhabitants shall without previous permission sell any cattle or big game to ships whether our own or other nations'.

Inhabitants shall not buy any cattle or meat from one another without a permit.

Nobody may buy garden produce, cattle, or meat from the Company's overseers; who does so shall be regarded as, and chastised as, a thief.

Nobody shall sell any fresh meat, milk, butter, fish, vegetables or any comestibles other than in the bazaar or market.

Neither settlers nor Company's servants shall buy or barter any manner of goods, to wit: clothing, household goods and chattels, arms, gold, silver, cattle, corn, nor drive any trade, sell or barter in any manner with the Company's slaves, or any other slave, without the consent of the latter's master or mistress.

In 1677 Commander Bax issued a plakkaat against the purchase of clothes from the backs of the Company's slaves for a little tobacco or a handful of rice. Apart from the misdemeanour the consequence to the slaves was sickness, even death, from cold. In 1700 Willem Adriaan van der Stel renewed this plakkaat amplifying it to embrace the increased range of the evil.

The following plakkaat was also designed to prevent a further traffic, unfortunately so prevalent and enduring that it had continually to be repeated, and with a good deal of impatient emphasis, on the part of successive Commanders:

None of the inhabitants shall wheedle the Company's servants into selling goods which have been given these servants on account.

In July 1657 van Riebeeck proclaimed the "existence of persons who cruelly use the poor man by buying his clothes at half their value, leaving him a naked drunkard". He strictly forbids the practice. "Nothing to be bought of the poor man or be taken in payment of debt for drink. Innkeepers derive sufficient profit from the ships. Neither shall anyone give them [Company's rankers] credit for more than sixpence."

The purchase and sale of goods at the Cape never presented a normal aspect of wholesale and retail trade. As early as 1676 the burghers applied to a Commissioner in order to obtain more normal trading privileges, at least to have the same as those which freemen in Batavia enjoyed, but without success. A century later they were no more successful in petitioning for freedom of trade, though certain small concessions had been granted in the meantime.

From the earliest years of the 18th century the need to trade other than solely through the Company as a middleman, both for purchase and sale, became apparent to the burghers. Not only was it necessary to find occupation as merchants for men who as farmers would be redundant and serve to overcrowd an already too restricted market, but also to provide the farmer with means of exporting his own surplus produce in his own way, and of importing in exchange such goods as he thought fit. The denial of such activity was the logical outcome of accepting existence within the Government of a commercial company whose edicts were unquestioned by the higher authority of its country of origin.

It must, however, be remembered that the Company was not altogether to blame for the lack of the Cape colonists' opportunity to develop normally as a trading people. It was a fact that had the burghers been given free trade they could not have got very far during all their early history. No Government, however benevolent, could have increased the local demand of a small community for imported goods, nor altered conditions under which overseas markets would accept Cape produce. Had they been allowed to manufacture it would not have been sound economically to do so. The peculiar difficulties of South African geography, its patchy fertility, its lack of navigable rivers, its inhospitable hinterland, the whole problem of expansion as related to transport—once men had dragged their waggons through dangerous passes over the mountain ranges a hundred miles and more away—set a limit to the development of Southern Africa which only modern times are finally overcoming.

The significance of Tas's diary is not the exposure of a contemporary group of Company's servants. This was simply an incident much over-rated historically by having been divorced in its presentation by local historians from its background of previous history. The real significance of the event was the alarm caused by the effect of competition on the part of half-a-dozen extra men with energy and capital. Another half-dozen such men and the Company's market would have been swamped.

The more thoughtful men of 1706 were already wondering how a population which increased itself so rapidly (for enormous families were the rule) was to be provided for, let alone make provisions for emigrants who would swell their numbers. The population sounds pitifully small when we come to examine the figures, which only increases our wonder at the struggle for existence. The ever-increasing importation of slaves had something to do with it. There was no need for slave labour in the

Cape climate. These early colonists with few exceptions were all men of farmer, peasant or artisan stock. Had they turned their own hand to the plough like their brothers in Europe, and gradually weeded out the canker of slavery their troubles would have been less.

In 1685 when the High Commissioner the Lord of Mydrecht granted land to Simon van der Stel, and to any other official who desired to farm and sell produce, there was no outcry. The free-men, including both farmers and artisans, with their knechts numbered under 300, only about a third of whom had found wives. They possessed 200 men slaves. In 1695 there were 506 freemen, 202 freewomen, and 491 children. They owned 322 men slaves, 72 female with 63 children. In 1700 there were 520 freemen, 241 freewomen, and 609 children. In 1705, 690 men, 288 women, and 803 children. They owned 764 male slaves, 128 female, with 99 children.

We read in the records of the beginning of the 18th century of how men are getting away, separating themselves from fruitful valleys, anxious to find more space, more freedom of action, dimly aware of the end of a period. The Company attempted to meet the problem of trekking by slowing down emigration (never rapid). But this was not the answer. Men at the Cape itself, who with some solid background and well-directed energy had been able to make a position of standing, and desired that their posterity should progress within the boundaries of the colony, wondered how it might be done. A man could not provide for his family if there was not enough fertile soil within reach of the local market to set up farm after farm with its complement of slaves. At this period the burgher did not wish his son to enter the Company's service. The boy had no education which could serve the Secretariat; his pay as an ordinary soldier would be a pittance, and the conditions of his life such as a former generation had sought to escape.

To be able to trade abroad; to conduct whatever internal trade might be organised after paying customs duty to the Company, would be an outlet. The institution of slave labour was already corrupting the burghers' attitude towards manual labour, spade in hand or as an artisan. A boy grew up on his father's farm commanding the slave to do his manual labour for him. Boys who in Europe would have laboured as an ordinary farm-hand on their father's or on someone else's farm, or have been apprenticed to a trade as a matter of course, were little masters awaiting the time when they, too, would own slaves and watch others work. Tas's

little Jantje would expect when he grew up to have plenty of leisure, like his father, to ride about during the day drinking and chatting with his friends, and to play cards in the afternoon "to pass the time".

Of the many observers who remarked upon the effect of slavery at the Cape, and of the poverty of education which increased the evil, we may quote the Dutch Admiral Cornelis de Jong, who saw the result of it towards the end of the 18th century. He was a man who had much to say of the Afrikaner's native if untutored ability, and who married an Afrikaner. He spoke not of the even less tutored trekkers beyond the mountains—Commissary de Mist's "wild Europeans"—but of society such as had developed from the social scene of Tas's diary. As for social graces he describes a bumpkin, which does not disturb us very much because in the 18th century there were any number of country gentlemen in Europe who were bumpkins, but he says this: "[The child] accustomed from youth to command slaves believes himself elevated above everybody and can ill obey." "Knowing little and despising what he does not know" he bears himself with an inflated hauteur which "has laziness as a result. Few Europeans will lend a hand to agricultural labour or an arm in a packhouse: 'tis slave's work!" "What are the slaves for?" is another saying. . . ."

The slaves in Tas's time were only just beginning to outnumber their masters. Later on they came to do so by many hundreds. Just so many slaves kept Europeans out of work entirely suited to their state. The "poor and needy" emigrants who were arriving in Willem Adriaan's time were to learn that debt to the Company for the purchase of slaves was preferable to honest toil on their own part. The burghers would have been the last to welcome the abolition of the slaves. A habit of thought and a way of life had been formed. The possession of slaves was part of a social status.

In 1707 there was a good harvest. The Company was "overstocked with wheat" and the farmers were left with their rye and beans on their hands. As time went on this was the sort of thing that happened. Even a good harvest did not ensure an adequate reward. The burgher councillors in 1718 set before the Council of Policy the sum of their anxiety. There were burghers ready to become shareholders in the possession of a three-masted hooker, suitable for trading up the East Coast, to Madagascar, and to other islands where they might find a market for their surplus produce, and get, incidentally, a better price for produce than

the Company paid them. They were not granted their hooker, nor permission to trade abroad in other bottoms, not even on their own to Holland.

We cannot follow the story further in this place, but it is pertinent to quote the remarks of the burgher councillors in the course of a Memorial of 1720, because the state of affairs there depicted was the financial picture of 15 years earlier:

"It is certain that those who own the most landed property are not the richest, though it is true that in other lands rich persons reside who put out large sums at interest, and in such countries heavy trade is carried on. But such capitalists are not to be found here; hence, though those who possess most landed property are considered to be the richest, none the less they owe a lot of money on it; that this is the case with everyone, as all are, as it were, bound together by their debts and standing security for each other, as is evident from the books of the Company, the Orphan Chamber, and Diaconate. . . ."

So it was to continue. The pattern of life limned in Tas's diary was only to increase in area and intensify in colour.

Let us see how the trade developed which busied Tas and his friends as a side-line.

It was possible for the Company to prevent trade's becoming the sole existence of a naturally destined section of the population, but it was not possible, nor even desirable from the Company's point of view, to suppress private trade entirely. Individual men made money by trade, increasingly as the years went on, taking advantage of any concession made by the Company. For the rest, everyone was open to add to the family exchequer by buying and selling odds and ends of goods which he picked up in one way and another. In Tas's diary we see just this in operation. We find Tas both sending out and receiving articles of clothing, and visiting his friends to make purchases.

The sellers purchased their goods in various ways. As a rule they purchased them from ships' officers of both Company's and foreign ships, and to a lesser degree from the crew. A certain amount of trading was permitted to the personnel of ships, but the privilege was much abused. To be able to off-load at the Cape on the return journey from Batavia and avoid probable confiscation on arrival in Holland (where the Company exercised strict control over imports), brought to the Cape a good deal of merchandise which might otherwise have passed it by. With a permit from the Cape Government such seamen traders were even allowed to hold an auction of their goods, and the Cape held its annual kermis or fair immediately the return fleet left. To balance

an amount calculated by the Company to be its loss on trading carried on by ships' personnel a customs duty (first introduced at the Cape in 1678) was levied upon them for certain goods, especially liquor, sugar, and tobacco. The Fiscal was the customs officer, and much depended upon the integrity or otherwise of this individual. In the end it was this private trade which contributed to the Company's ruin.

People also purchased at the Company's auctions, and at auctions held for the disposal of deceased person's belongings. Auctions, Mentzel tells us, were social events. Again, men who could afford it, and could get away with it, imported goods for themselves from merchants overseas through the medium of a ship's officer who would draw a commission on the transaction. Officers were also given goods on account by merchants; a form of speculation which involved the payment of a percentage above the cost of the goods when the officer—if ever—should arrive home.

Last, but by no means least, goods for sale were smuggled ashore, even ships' stores, sold for cash by, or bartered from, dishonest ships' stewards. The guards on the beach whom Tas mentions as having made the grisly discovery of an infant corpse were there on ordinary guard duty against smugglers.

Private trading among the burghers in Tas's day had not reached very great proportions. It was all people could do to live from day to day, and ready cash for investment in goods was scarce. Mentzel, writing of the next generation, describes the system in full swing.

"It was possible," he tells us, "to purchase at private houses every conceivable article of merchandise, but never at the same place, or at the same time, or at the same price. . . . Every man in the Town, be he burgher or official . . . is a huckster or trader." The Company, he continues, permitted no one to open a shop or to possess a warehouse, but it was soon known when certain articles of merchandise were obtainable at the house of a Company's servant or of a burgher. By this time there were also country farmers who were well enough off to pay a capable knecht to look after their farms and lived themselves in Town for the purpose of trading.

Sometimes it was the wives who were the traders, and often made a better income than their husbands. Company's servants more particularly were prone to put such employment into their wives' hands. It might then be done with a discretion which avoided losing official face and exciting too much enquiry. Mrs.

Munkerus and Mrs. Corssenaar, from whom Tas makes purchases and discharges an old debt, were the wife and the widow of a Company's officials and likely to have been old hands.

Mentzel explains why the Company permitted such an infringement of its monopoly of trade: "The Company turns a blind eye because it cannot supply the increasing population from its stores. It is well satisfied that this illicit trading provides a livelihood for a large section of the population." So there we have it. It was the old story of government by commercial expediency; of the Company's holding rights unstable in application by reason of the hardship they caused. Without allowing such rights to be called in question the Company "turned a blind eye" unless or until its purpose was suited by turning on the screw.

Of the Company's servants—the Commissary de Mist in 1803 writes of the Governors' inadequate salaries and the bad system which invited abuse, and John Barrow, secretary to Lord Macartney during the first British occupation, comments upon the Company's servants as follows:

"Their salaries indeed were insufficient to afford them a bare sustenance. The consequence of such a conduct was that each became a kind of petty dealer. Each had his little shop in some corner of his house . . . those who ranked high in the Government . . . felt no sort of indignity in retailing the produce of their gardens . . . through the medium of their slaves. In fact, the minds of every class, the Governor, the clergy, the fiscal, and the secretary of the Court of Justice excepted, were wholly bent on trade."

Let us glance back at the earliest struggles over this petty trading.

It was very soon recognised in the settlement that if a man's occupation could not support his family trading was the obvious means of augmenting his income. It was from that loophole everyone escaped. The first retail traders were granted their privileges by van Riebeeck in August 1659. The artisan freemen living round the fort were hard put to it to make ends meet. The Company employed its own artisans and the burgher population, whom the burgher artisan was destined to serve, was broke to a man. There was also the consideration that it was a nuisance to the men of the garrison to be obliged to procure the necessary order upon the Company's warehousemen to be supplied with small quantities of daily rations, and the warehousemen found it a nuisance to be called upon to hand out the odd piece of bacon, and so forth.

So van Riebeeck permitted any freeman with the exception of the farmers (who must not be diverted from raising corn),

and inn-keepers and tapsters (who he considered made enough money as it was), to purchase at very reasonable cost "all kinds of shop and chandlers' goods" from the Company, and to retail them. They were also permitted to retail, at fixed prices which guarded against a rise in the cost of living, garden and dairy produce and certain live-stock. Pigs, for instance, he bound them to breed and sell. He was determined upon the increase of pigs, but owing to porcine propensity to break away and devour everything in sight he had had great difficulty in persuading the freemen to share his enthusiasm.

Van Riebeeck had another reason for this concession. He explained it to the Directorate in his despatch of March 1660. His was a device "to avoid as much as possible giving them [the freemen] credit, and peccadillos caused by buying daily small quantities on credit from the dispenser". "If they give credit to one another they do so at their own risk, and the Company is thus relieved from great anxiety arising from the credit system . . . the freemen in that way are more permanently fixed here and are compelled to take care that their debtors do not decamp or stow themselves away, etc."

This ulterior motive was hardly imparted to the freemen and everything appeared to be set fair for everybody's happiness and convenience. Commercial cupidity defeated this promising beginning. The shopkeepers were not content with the tiny margin of profit which van Riebeeck had decided the garrison and fellow freemen customers could afford them. They hoarded whatever stock it was feasible to lay by in order to sell it to the ships at a higher price, and to van Riebeeck's disgust sold at a profit above even what was reasonable at the price for which the Company had supplied the goods to them.

In order to increase their stock of goods at lower prices still they were also guilty of a form of sharp practice which seems difficult to excuse, but which the Cape Government never succeeded in rooting out. They bought articles of clothing issued to soldiers and sailors and debited against the men's wages on the books. They were not alone in exploiting these paupers. Inn-keepers would serve a penniless soldier with drink and when drunk take the clothes off his back in payment. The enormity of the act lies in the following explanation:

The ordinary ranker received, under a five-year contract, nine to ten guilders a month pay, about 15s., plus a bread ration and a small cash payment for food and subsistence against which he was debited 3s. 4d. a month on the books. He also received "service money", something under 2s. 6d. a month, but out of

this, unless he could pay cash he was debited for the cost of his uniforms. Uniforms were distributed every two years and cost just over £2. He had also to provide his own bed and bedding.

Again, the Company paid the garrison in Cape currency—"light money", instead of in Netherlands currency—"heavy money", and pocketed the advantage of the exchange.

Twice a year, in February and in August, the soldier was given double pay, less five stuivers out of every guilder (5d. out of every 1s. 8d.), which the Company deducted, presumably not to overdo the generosity. These months were known as the "Good Months" (Goedemaande). Thus the soldier became a capitalist to the amount of about 25s. in cash. This money was intended to provide him with underclothes, shoes, and stockings which were sold to him by the Company. As a soldier could not exist on his pay except in the most miserable condition, nearly all who were not subsidised by relatives (a negligible number) were in debt to the Company, and therefore the distribution of clothes was made "on account".

It was these clothes obtained on account which the soldiers sold, and sold for much under their value, in order to become possessed of a little ready cash. The net result was more wretchedness and raggedness. More often than not the money was spent on drink. All through the years from van Riebeeck onwards a special proclamation warned the public when the Good Months came round that clothes distributed to the Company's servants on account were not to be purchased from them. It appears to have made little impression, for in Willem Adriaan van der Stel's time special and equally forcible proclamations were issued as well as the appearance of an edict in the annual *Generale Plakkaaten*.

Van Riebeeck closed the little shops in the freemen's dwellings, and instituted instead a Saturday morning shopping session at the Company's warehouse, when the Company's shopkeeper (*winkelier*) would attend to retail trade.

One can imagine the whole settlement turning out in its best attire for this weekly occasion. Possibly, it was the origin of Saturday morning as the fashionable though short shopping hours which persisted in Cape Town ever after. At the beginning of our own century women went to Town on Saturday morning as part of the social programme. The restaurants were filled for 11 o'clock tea with women clad in almost garden-party clothes. Up and down Plein Street, where Europeans did not shop in those days, paraded the Malay women in their picturesque wide skirts and extravagant head-dresses.

We have the list of what van Riebeeck advertised for sale on that first Saturday morning, "a calm, lovely day".

"Inland and Guinea linen (Guinea linen was also used for windows at need in those days—the hall in the fort had Guinea linen windows), English sheets, serge, Heresayen, silk, cotton thread, chintz, ribbons, Mouris, salmpouris, tobacco, sugar, pepper, taffachelas, St. Thomas cloth, knitted worsted stockings, hats, wheat, seed-sieves, striped cloth, Negros cloth, blankets, nutmegs, cloves, cinnamon."

"Whoever," ran the advertisement, "requires any of the above, let him come every Saturday morning when he will be supplied for his money or for what he has to his credit on the books. Tell it further!"

Van Riebeeck's successor, Wagenaar, rearranged all this. A shop where people could get what they wanted at any time was a necessity, and there was Elbert Dirksz Diemer, the freeman tailor, who, by reason of competition with the Company's tailors, could not make a sufficient living to support his family. Wagenaar recounted the difficulties with which van Riebeeck contended, and firmly fixing the prices at which Diemer would be allowed to sell, gave him the monopoly of freeman shop-keeping.

Trouble, however, loomed ahead. Diemer was obviously no capitalist and his stock was small. The soldiers, on the excuse that they were unable to get sufficient supplies near the fort, carried off their ration money to the country to spend it among the farmers on the banks of the Liesbeeck. Over-long absence was the result, "debauchery and vagabondage", as the Commander expressed it.

He had a chat with the two burgher councillors and presently established a market to which the farmers and everyone else who had provisions for sale were ordered to bring them. Henceforth no farmer might sell anything at his house.

The next thing we hear about it is in January 1676 when Governor Goske sharply reminds the "free settlers and Company's servants who possess gardens and land" that the proclamations of '65 and '67 have never been rescinded and that, in effect, the now prevailing practice must cease of selling what they liked and at any price they chose, bringing ashore all sorts of goods, yea! even the Company's own goods stolen and smuggled ashore, to the detriment of the Company's lawful profit—tobacco and strong drink and sugar especially. Henceforth no tobacco or sugar shall be sold except what is bought from the Company and sold at a price fixed by the Company. The Fiscal is instructed to keep open a watchful eye, and direful penalties await the transgressor.

Meantime, the licence to sell strong drink and imported wines had been put up to auction with such satisfactory results for the Cape budget that in 1679 baking and the sale of bread, milling, and brewing were also put up for auction. Licence to sell tobacco followed, and to sell bacon, meat, oil, vinegar, which presumably embraced the sale of other groceries.

Simon van der Stel now comes into office, and under the paternal and progressive rule which he exercised the people lived more happily, and it seems under more elastic regulations provided they behaved well. He insisted that produce should be sold on the market where the Government inspector had it under his eye, and if people infringed the regulation they were liable to fine. For the rest, we have seen what happened. All sorts of people sold all sorts of goods, and gradually the commercial scene was to develop which Mentzel describes and which Tas's diary corroborates.

Perhaps it will interest my readers to know something of what "every conceivable article of merchandise", in Mentzel's phrase, might embrace in 1705. Some, at least, of this merchandise is interesting to trace to its source. The indents for goods in the Journals and Despatches of the Cape provide entertaining reading—lists of clothing, and of cloths with beautiful names: salmpouris, taffachelas, niquanias, bethilles; of agricultural and artisans' tools, of grocery and haberdashery.

One day, browsing in the library of the Royal Geographical Society in London, I came across an old book: "A View of Dutch Trade". It had been translated from the French of Mons Huet in 1722. The less the French knew of Dutch trade the better, thought the Dutch, and all through the Cape Journals from the day when van Riebeeck discovered that French sealers operated in Saldanha Bay (twice, in 1666 and in 1670, the French attempted to assume possession of Saldanha Bay), there are records of French penetration into the avenues of trade, and of the means to circumvent it. None the less, the French appear to have acquired a considerable amount of information, and with the Cape records to help us we may discover what cargoes sailed into Table Bay, a very small fraction of which found its way into circulation at the Cape.

The St. Thomas cloth and the chintz which figures in van Riebeeck's list that Saturday morning came from the coast of Coromandel. All the best cotton goods came from there. Cinnamon came from Malabar and Ceylon where the Dutch kept up the price by destroying too abundant production. Cloves and

nutmeg came principally from the Moluccas, the "spice isles" from which the Dutch had expelled the Portuguese (the first Europeans to trade in the Pacific), and where the King of Ternate was their pensioner and submitted to the control of clove production. Pepper came from Malabar and Bantam; wheat from Ceylon; Silk came from Japan and China, of course, and also from India. The list of goods from China is immense. Chinese trading junks swarmed to Batavia, and Chinese traders lived here to conduct this trade, and to grow sugar. The many references in the Cape records to Chinese in Batavia, and to Chinese banished from thence to the Cape, belonged to a Chinese community which originated in trading ventures.

Monsieur Huet tells us that the Chinese had a saying that all nations save themselves were blind when it came to skilful trading, but they conceded one eye to the Dutch. This was hardly surprising. Lacquer may serve as an illustration. The Dutch bought it for 10d. per lb., mixed it with 50 per cent. resin and sold it in Europe for 10d. per oz.

A selection of the goods purchased from China reads like a tale of Arabian Nights: raw and woven silk, gold stuffs and carpets, frankincense and manna, balsam of Arabia, fine gold, ivory, tiger skins and musk, precious stones and porcelain, lapis lazuli and amber, cabinets, brazil wood, ebony and copper. . . .

There was tea from China and India. but the best came from Japan. The Company made an enormous profit on it. Red copper, too, came from Japan. The Dutch bartered it for Bengal carpets and Coromandel linen. Steel, iron, tin, and saltpetre were all brought from various parts of the East, and beautiful timbers. From Sumatra came quicksilver, vermilion, camphor, elephants' teeth, siampan and sandalwood.

Van Riebeeck's blankets probably came from Surat.

A ship might deliver a very varied cargo at the Cape: "3 leaguers of arrack, 2 casks of tamarind, 8 baskets of sugar, 500 lbs. of gunpowder and 1 horse."

Stocktaking in the Company's warehouses at the Cape on August 25th, 1676 (Journal, p. 276-80 in Leibbrandt's translation) gives us a pretty complete list of the amenities of life at the period, including the tools used by the artisans, and "material for catching whales", an item which must have been written off as far as the Cape was concerned. Indents in the Letters Despatched are also sources of much information of the same kind.

Monsieur Huet remarks upon the heavy profits made by the Company and adds: "It would probably make more if corruption

in the Company's offices, where many are friends of Dutch East India Company's officials, was brought to book."

A despatch to the Cape from Bengal said no less in November 1706: "We hope for the best, and that God may one day put an end to all the disasters which for some years have overtaken the Company, and mostly by means of its own servants."

COINAGE, ETC.

Doit—one-eighth of a stuiver.

Stuiver—one penny.

Guilder (or florin)—1s. 8d.

Rixdollar—4s. 6d.

Real—1s. 7d.

Golden ducat—five guilders.

Silver ducatoon—5s. to 6s., nearer 6s.

A real—originally a Spanish sixpence (6½d.). Silver coin.

A coin valued at eight reals was the famous "piece of eight".

Muid—a measure which varied according to the commodity weighed. A muid of corn Amsterdam measure was 175 lbs. The Cape farmer was required to deliver some 10 lbs. per muid in excess of this measure.

Leaguer—of wine, rather more than 150 gallons.

Aam—measure in cask of 41 gallons.

Dutch or Rhineland mile—rather more than three times an English mile.

Morgen—about two acres. (Term derived from an area which could be ploughed in a morning.)

TRESPASS

Nobody under pretext of walking in the Company's garden shall pluck fruit nor take it away with him . . . nor trample the vegetation nor damage the fruit trees. . . .

(An offence very heavily punished.)

Van Riebeeck proclaimed the first edict against trespass in December 1653, when the "first attempts successfully made to sow some Dutch garden seeds" impelled him to order that "neither gardens nor sown land shall be entered by anyone to take of the fruit without the consent of the Commander". He was obliged continually to renew the order; finally to forbid entrance to the Company's garden at all, and to build a little guard-house. Thereafter, only the senior officers of the fleets might take their pleasure in the garden.

A horse or other beast having broken through the fences and been found in the Company's garden shall be confiscated, and if the same does damage in being driven out the owner shall be fined. . . .

Animals which are brought to the pound shall not be taken therefrom before payment of a fine. . . .

Animals which damage gardens [other than Company's understood] shall be forfeit for a week, and the cost of their keep by the Company [in the pound] be defrayed by the owner.

Nobody shall presume in person or with his cattle to come about the Company's corrals.

This last edict was in the spirit of an old one instituted to prevent the exhaustion of the Company's grazing. Simon van der Stel found it necessary to resuscitate it in strong terms in 1686. The preamble to his plakkaat forbidding approach explains further reason for it, and reads as follows:

"Whereas from time to time we have experienced the danger run by the Company's stock, both cattle and sheep, which on account of untrustworthy and perjured servants, and the inducement or temptation of self-seeking and thievish people can become spirited away, stolen, and alienated. . . ."

Collusion between freemen farmers and the men in charge of the Company's outposts, forests, salt-pans, etc., to defeat the regulations was particularly difficult to suppress, partly because

the majority of colonists at this period either inherited an inclination to outwit the Company, or themselves had escaped the Company's service recently enough to approach the soldier post-holders on an equality of understanding. The Company's men, on the other hand, were apt to fall subject to bribe on account of their miserable pay, and a system of payment whereby they were kept short even of the actual hard cash they might have handled.

In November 1700 Willem Adriaan van der Stel issued a reminder and a warning to the freemen that Rietvlei was Company's grazing, reserved for the Company's trek-oxen. By reason of the intrusion of freemen's animals the grazing was becoming exhausted. He had the area fenced and forbade approach.

Rietvlei was a tract of land north of the Salt River, and was one of the extra grazing lands taken in by Simon van der Stel for the Company; a result of the successful barter operations of Claas the Hottentot among his own people on behalf of the Company.

VAN RIEBEECK AND THE HOTTENTOTS

Nobody may hit, shove, or in any manner ill-use the Hottentots.

(Van Riebeeck proclaimed this edict immediately upon his arrival at the Cape in April 1652. The story of its operation and development is the story of the impact between the South African aboriginal and the European intruder. It reveals the character of the pastoral Hottentot in his prime, and what contribution he made, perforce, to the establishment of the Cape station. No documents other than those left to us by van Riebeeck himself—his Journal and his Despatches—afford us such insight into this aspect of Cape history. It has therefore been thought to be of interest sufficiently peculiar to merit the devotion of some space to the narrative.)

Van Riebeeck devised the above plakkaat to prevent his men from frightening the Hottentots away from the neighbourhood. They were "not to be harmed the more readily to discover what profits may be made by trading with them". Above all things, he wanted their cattle, both to supply slaughter animals for garrison and fleets, and for breeding and dairy stock. His whole course of future action in dealing with the Hottentots was to be controlled by this demand.

He reinforced his edict with the rider that the same order applied if the Hottentots stole arms and tools. They were neither to be cuffed nor pursued, but the man who lost Company's property in this fashion should "receive 50 stripes at a post and forfeit his wine ration for a week, or undergo such heavier punishment as the importance of the case shall require".

There is no record that he made any gentler approach to his men in order to gain their co-operation in placating the Hottentot, nor in the result did he succeed in winning the confidence of the Hottentot by these means.

In actual fact, van Riebeeck took office convinced of Hottentot malice, and of the need to crush it and circumvent it. Such an opinion he had expressed to the Directorate of the Dutch East India Company before he left Holland. "A brutal gang" was his description.

His knowledge of the Hottentot resided in his having spent three weeks at the Cape in 1648 with the return fleet under the command of Geleijnsen de Jongh who had been ordered to salvage the cargo of the wrecked *Haarlem* and to take off the shore party left to guard it. These men (sixty of them) had been ashore for just over a year. They were so far from finding the Hottentots

malicious that they were able to camp and grow vegetables without any harm whatever coming to them. They were so confident of kindness that on one occasion the chief mate, the corporal, and the carpenter went off to pay a visit to the Hottentot encampment. The Junior Merchant, Leendert Jansz, left in charge of this party, contrived to enforce decent behaviour towards the aborigines on the part of his men. During this year another ship came in, the men of which (among whom Nicolas Proot) were also well treated by the Hottentots. What Jansz and Proot have to say of the Hottentots, and of the personnel of de Jongh's fleet throws light upon van Riebeeck's attitude:

"Others will say that the natives are brutal and cannibals from whom no good can be expected . . . this is a vulgar error . . . we do not deny that some boatmen and soldiers have been killed by them, but the excuse is not generally stated by our people in order to excuse themselves. We are convinced that the peasants of this country [Holland], were their cattle shot down or taken away without payment, would not be a hair better than these natives if they were not obliged to respect the law. . . . The killing of our people is undoubtedly caused out of revenge taken by the natives when their cattle is seized. . . . The uncivil and ungrateful conduct of our people is therefore the cause, for last year when the fleet commanded by the Honbl. E. Wollebrandt Geleijsen was lying in Table Bay, instead of recompensing the natives somewhat for their good treatment of those wrecked in the *Haarlem*, they shot down eight or nine of their cattle and took them away without payment, which may cost the lives of some of ours if the natives find an opportunity, and Your Honours may consider whether the latter would not have cause for such a proceeding."

It is true that Jansz had the advantage of van Riebeeck in that the Hottentot was required to extend but temporary hospitality to the *Haarlem's* people. Van Riebeeck had to contend with the Hottentots' realisation that they were never going to be rid of the European nor be relieved of the drain upon their herds and pastures. None the less, it would appear that the spirit of van Riebeeck's approach and the quality of his judgment was such that from the start neither the Hottentot nor his own men who laboured under his edict created out of it any principle of consistent behaviour. His motives were commercial not ethical. He was a merchant of the Company, not a diplomat, not a missionary. His aim, in the interests of the Company, and in his own if he were to hope for promotion, was to acquire as much as possible for as little as possible, and to establish the station without loss of time. His Mecca was Batavia, not the Cape.

Let us set the stage upon which the drama of the next ten years is to be enacted.

In the Cape Peninsula and within a short range northward of the fort there was no great tribe of Hottentots whose permanent habitat the area was. A little tribe or fragment of about a score of families, who called themselves Goringhaikonas or Watermen, kept their kraals permanently in the Peninsula. They had no cattle and lived upon sea-food and whatever else edible they could catch, gather, or dig up. Their headman was a cunning little opportunist named Autohamoa or, variously, Kamcimoa. The Dutch came to know him as "Herry", a corruption of the English Harry, and as Herry he appears all through van Riebeeck's records. The man had acquired the name of Harry when an English skipper had carried him to Bantam and back in the early 'forties of the century. The earlier interviews between van Riebeeck and Herry were conducted in pidgeon English.

The territory of the Peninsula was by no means held by the Watermen as their property. They were indeed a negligible quantity in the Hottentot hierarchy—the poorest of poor relations. The Cape pastures were the alternate grazing grounds of several pastoral tribes lying northward beyond the Salt River.

The nearest main body and great tribe of Hottentots, the Chochoquas, inhabited the territories of Saldanha Bay. The Dutch came to refer to them commonly as the Saldanhas. Not necessarily every year, but periodically, the tribe drove its multitude of cattle and sheep southward to the Cape pastures and rivulets.

Before the approach of the Saldanhas the several smaller bodies of Hottentots, dwelling in the middle distance between the Saldanha and Table Bays, gave way. Technically, the Saldanha chieftain, Oedasoa, was lord of them all, but the smaller tribes maintained an independent existence, too insignificant to cause Oedasoa concern. Apparently, he was content to leave them alone provided that they kept clear of offence. He was even willing to leave unmolested a small coastal tribe which had indeed offended him. These men had been his cattle herds and had broken away, it seems, at a period not far distant from the arrival of the Dutch, plundering Oedasoa of as much cattle as they could conveniently drive away.

•Close to the Cape, located for the most part just north of the Salt River and round about the Tygerberg (van Riebeeck generally called this little range the Leopardsberg), but using the Cape pastures at times, were the Gorachouqua, the tribe of a few hundred whom van Riebeeck and the earliest settlers always

referred to as the "Tobacco Thieves", because on an occasion in 1657—van Riebeeck having unwisely pointed out to them a growing crop of tobacco, some benefit from which he promised them as compensation for his having seized the land it was growing upon—they had bided their time and stolen it. They called their chief Chora, and themselves Chorachoquas.

Most important of the smaller tribes, and the tribe that was to cause van Riebeeck some trouble in the future, was the Goring-chaiquas or Capemen. This tribe numbered about a thousand. Unless the Saldanhas were in temporary occupation of the Cape pastures the Capemen grazed their cattle, when it so pleased them, upon all the watered lands of the peninsula: on the site where Cape Town stands today; along the banks of the Liesbeeck, which today is little better than a drain, though it can come down sufficiently in flood to be a nuisance; over the Bosheuvel into the Constantia valley; and by several ways into the Hout Bay valley and Noordhoek.

A corpulent and aged chief named Gogosa (dubbed by the Dutch the Fat Captain) was the titular lord of the Capemen. Actually his three sons, Oringkhimma, variously Osingkimma, called Schacher by the Dutch, Otegna (Pieter), and Khuma (Jan), dominated him.

Gogosa claimed overlordship of the Watermen and Tobacco Thieves but his jurisdiction was apt to be disputed. Petty squabbles would break out from time to time.

For about three years the Saldanhas and the lesser tribes to the south of them were all the Hottentots which concerned the settlement. Then appeared emissaries of the Chainouquas, a tribe occupying territory to the south-east, beyond the Hottentots Holland Mountains, along the River Zonder Eind, towards Swellendam. The Chainouqua chief, Sousoa, did not himself visit the fort until September 1660, but he permitted his tribesmen to trade, and van Riebeeck obtained a good deal of cattle from this source. (More about the Chainouquas will appear in the story to follow.) They were the only other tribe to take any active part in what was going on at the fort in van Riebeeck's time. In 1661 emissaries from the tribe of Hessaquas, dwelling beyond the Chainouquas still farther to the south-east, made an appearance at the fort. Van Riebeeck left the Cape the following May. Both these tribes held themselves superior to the Saldanhas, and the Hessaquas superior to the Chainouquas.

Bushmen, the pygmy aboriginals who were to resent encroachment upon their hunting-grounds at a later period, were little more

than a name to van Riebeeck. Garrison men, bartering inland for cattle, came across a specimen or two for the first time in 1655. They asked the pygmies, as they asked the Hottentots, to try and catch some of the zebra and quagga—"wild horses"—which they also saw on their travels. At the time when van Riebeeck could not persuade the Council at Batavia to send him an adequate supply of Javanese ponies, he had great ideas of taming the wild horses. It was an idea which met with little enthusiasm on the part of the Hottentots, though Oedasoa made an attempt to his grave injury, as will appear later. Before van Riebeeck left, a little party of Bushmen actually appeared at the fort bringing the skins and heads of a couple of these animals.

Van Riebeeck heard of yet further tribes. He questioned at great length the Hottentots whom he knew, a performance facilitated by the ease with which a number of Hottentots learned to speak Dutch. He sent garrison men on several occasions to visit the little Namaquas dwelling south of the Orange River, and hoped to entice their chief to the fort, but without success. He heard of the "Chobona" (Bantu), north and yet more north, and it inspired him with hopes of trading with the fabled Monomotapa, and caused him to send forth more than one expedition to find its Emperor.

What now was the Hottentots' view of the European? What was the disaster which the little tribes dwelling within easy reach of the fort had to face, and which Oedasoa and Gonnema of the Saldanhas observed and feared as their own fate in the future?

The arrival of van Riebeeck for the purpose of establishing a refreshment station meant an immediate attack upon the Hottentots' only source of prosperity—his flocks and herds. His having relinquished cattle meant the appropriation of his grazing and watering by the new owners of the cattle.

In the past the arrival of a ship had been, unless the company were dishonest or cruel, a pleasant and profitable event. The Hottentots bartered a few of their less prime beasts for tobacco, sheet copper and wire, bits of iron, and so forth. They made ornaments for themselves, and assegai heads, or saved the proceeds of the sale to barter with their neighbours for more cattle. Rarely would they part with a milch cow or with any necessary breeding stock. Their cattle was food and clothing to them; their prestige. Bereft of his cattle, become poor in cattle, the Hottentot was a man of little account. His latter state was as the Waterman, even as a Bushman.

The constant presence of a garrison and the regular arrival of large fleets which the commander of the station insisted should be provided for out of the Hottentot herds, whether the Hottentot were ready to sell or not, was a very different matter from the voluntary barter of a little surplus stock. To be told—and it came to this—that when they declined to sell cattle which they could not spare they were to clear out of their accustomed grazing grounds was not surprisingly a matter of consternation.

They also came to realise that the more cattle they sold the more pasture the European seized in order to graze it. When van Riebeeck, on behalf of the Company, not content with the lands watered by the rivulets descending from Table Mountain, went round the mountain to the banks of the Liesbeeck and gave out pasturage in possession to his soldiers, the Hottentots asked: Where are we to go if the Dutch occupy the land?

They not only saw the plough destroy the pasture, but also were expected to bring for barter the beasts to draw these ploughs, and milch cows to supply the usurpers with breeding-stock and dairy produce.

They came to learn that a man might barter to satiety. There was a limit to the ornament he wished to make or to wear. A few sticks of tobacco were soon smoked, especially as he was always willing to share with his fellows, a pleasing Hottentot characteristic.

The Hottentot was a near-naked, grease-smothered, evil-smelling barbarian, but he was intelligent. He foresaw clearly enough whither this state of affairs was trending.

2

In the November after van Riebeeck's arrival we find the following entry in his Journal: "Herry dining at our table to gain his goodwill."

Van Riebeeck had established Herry as interpreter at the fort, his purpose being to use him in persuading his countrymen to barter cattle, and to help in the conduct of the business. He dressed Herry in European clothes and hung a copper chain of office about his neck. Herry's kraal was pitched near the fort, and every day he dined at van Riebeeck's table.

To this hospitality there were drawbacks which van Riebeeck does not appear to have foreseen. He exalted Herry above his kind to an extent which must arouse the cupidity of the rest. It was also to arouse Herry's own cupidity to a disastrous extent,

and to inflate him with notions of his own importance harmful to his countrymen's peace of mind. To have the run of the fort also gave him the opportunity to learn the routine of the garrison, and to acquire much else of information which it would have been better he had not known.

It is not long before van Riebeeck suspects Herry of brewing mischief. He blames him when the months pass and no great supply of cattle and sheep reaches the fort. He expected him even to persuade the Saldanhas to bring in limitless cattle for barter.

In actual fact, Herry had no power to persuade the Saldanhas to part with their cattle. Had he been able to do so he would doubtless have done it, as time was to prove that the office of middleman in cattle barter at the fort was an office to be courted. The middleman (as everywhere) got some profit out of the deal. Van Riebeeck was to make determined and successful efforts in the future to prevent any Hottentot from raising the price of cattle by adding his rake-off to it. Even when he sent 16 armed men to Saldanha Bay to coax Saldanha tribesmen to come to the fort they were disinclined, and when they did come brought slaughter cattle, not their prime beasts. He records: "They seem sensible and kind and affectionate." This did not prevent him from attempting to palm off rotten tobacco upon them in payment for their cattle.

He resented the reluctance to trade, from whatever cause. He decided that if Herry were really up to something he "and all the Watermen" should be incarcerated upon islands off the coast, and their wives and children packed off to Batavia.

Presently, when the pasture was ready, the Saldanhas came down to graze their herds. Thousands of animals covered the pastures, save for that which van Riebeeck had already appropriated for grazing the animals he had already bought. Yet in spite of their wealth of cattle the Saldanhas were unwilling to part with any great number. Van Riebeeck had already written to the Directorate about the Hottentots' reluctance to trade and of what might be done about it. He had hopes that the Directorate would give him instructions to seize what he wanted. His Journal reveals how his mind is working: "Hard to behold," he writes, "so much cattle, and not to be able to get any . . . perhaps they have enough copper . . . would like to know, because it would have been easy, if proper, to seize about 10,000 which—if ordered to do so—would afterwards be, and now also, very serviceable . . . the natives trusting us."

He accuses the Hottentots of pilfering: "If their cattle cannot be obtained in a friendly way why then suffer their thefts without making reprisals which would only be required once, for with 150 men ten to twelve thousand cattle could be secured, and without any danger, as many of these savages could be caught without a blow for transmission as slaves to India as they always come to us unarmed."

Not even the stealing was of an extent which the text implies—a soldier's food, his tobacco, a tool—nor were the Hottentots the only culprits. No Hottentot had yet raided cattle purchased nor done any serious harm.

Whether or not Herry sensed the tone of van Riebeeck's mind he judged him susceptible of proposals to combine in intrigue. Herry the pauper, the herdless little beachcomber, is indulging in Napoleonic visions of greatness. He would exploit the flattery he received at the fort and cause van Riebeeck to set him above all the other Hottentots. He beguiles van Riebeeck with tales of how a small tribe near by may be subjugated and their cattle lifted. Van Riebeeck checks these dreams by replying that he wishes to be friends with all and trade. None the less, his own predatory conjectures remain unchecked. He records on the next page of his *Journal* that the Saldanhas are camped "in swarms with numerous cattle . . . not inclined to trade. Herry says they are flush of copper . . . and if there be no longer chance to trade what harm would it be if they were deprived of six or eight thousand head of cattle—the opportunities are many as they are weak and timid—three or four men often come with a thousand cattle within range of our cannon . . . and they are so confiding . . . should we today or tomorrow receive the order to be able in the strength of their confidence to take their cattle easily and without a blow, as it is miserable to behold so much cattle which are so necessary for refreshments for the ships, but cannot be obtained by good treatment or barter."

The Saldanhas were, in fact, bringing animals for barter. Van Riebeeck buys, for instance, a fine milch cow for its length in twisted tobacco—value 11 doits, "very cheap indeed". Sheep are killed daily for the garrison which have been bought from the Saldanhas, and when they move away again to Saldanha Bay van Riebeeck, besides this daily slaughter, has in hand 350 sheep, 25 cows in milk, and "many fine young oxen and heifers".

Six months later, October 19th, 1653, 18 months after van Riebeeck's arrival, Hottentots committed their first serious act of aggression. They killed the herd-boy herding 44 head of cattle which was now the Company's, and drove away the cattle.

Herry was at the bottom of this disaster, but how far he was to blame and whether he was encouraged by other Hottentots not of his tribe cannot be known; nor was it ever discovered whether the murder of the herd-boy was deliberate or incidental to a struggle on his part to hinder the raid on the cattle, nor who actually struck the fatal blow. Saldanhas were encamped about the Cape. There were several Hottentots round the fort besides Herry, including Gonnema, the headman of the second section of the Saldanha tribe. To the Dutch Gonnema was familiarly known as the Black Captain on account of his liberal use of Hottentot cosmetic: grease, soot, with a dusting of the more fragrant buchu. Possibly Gonnema, less diplomatic and more resentful (as time was to give one to suspect) than his senior Oedaso, encouraged a plot evolved by Herry. Herry planned the deed to take place on a Sunday during the hour of divine service in the hall of the fort, when he knew the coast would be clear. All the Hottentots idling about the fort disappeared with him.

The way in which van Riebeeck dealt immediately with this event was so laden with misdirected cunning that no issue of any clarity could be apparent to the Hottentots. His controlling impulse was to do nothing to hinder the acquisition of cattle. No Hottentot would come near the fort. He could not get "a single animal". He therefore issued a plakkaat ordering that "no natives, even the thieves and the late interpreter Herry . . . shall be molested . . . for the sake of procuring more cattle . . . likewise in order to be able to travel about in safety; this being the best course in the interests of the Company and for the growth of the settlement".

We are not surprised to find him writing a month later on the subject of pilfering: "The natives seem to comprehend that the more audacious they become the more civil we grow for the sake of the trade in the interests of the Company."

When at last small parties of Saldanhas made a reappearance at the fort they were eager on behalf of their chief, Oedaso, to repudiate Herry's doings. Van Riebeeck reacted to this advance by requiring Oedaso to send some of his tribesmen in pursuit of Herry. Oedaso evaded this request. Fear remained manifest after the Saldanha visit and van Riebeeck decided to pay a call upon a near-by Hottentot encampment. He was attended by 20 armed men. Only ten of the Hottentots had the courage to stand their ground at this approach. He ruined a suit of clothes by embracing their greasy persons. Even so, they were hardly persuaded to return with him to the fort where he hoped to calm them

by entertainment. Like timid children they would accompany him and his posse of men a little way, and then hold back, "stopping more than 50 times on the road". Little by little they were enticed along until at last "we, taking them by the hand, dancing and jumping and singing, entered the fort with them". There he comforted them with libations of arrack, a stomachful of food, and by paying double for a cow.

He issued further plakkaats, threatening the soldiers with an increased penalty of a hundred lashes if they so much as clouted a Hottentot or gave passionate chase to a sneak-thief who had got away with his axe, or something for which the soldier would have to pay. If the soldiers had been allowed a little normal reaction to this sort of thing there would have been a better spirit all round. Van Riebeeck could have reserved his threats for excessive retaliation. His edict as it read might well engender hatred of the Hottentot. We are not surprised to hear that the Hottentots' audacity goes so far that even a child is enticed apart in order to pull the brass buttons off his jacket. The fort's book-keeper and his companions get their heads punched and are jeered out of the camp when van Riebeeck sends them upon one of his ill-timed missions to get more cattle. The foresters bring in a report that Hottentots are molesting them, wanting their tobacco and food. There is a rumour that the Hottentots will attack the fort. They will trade no longer. The Dutch have settled on their lands and have taken the best pasture. They are building, and mean never to go away.

Van Riebeeck made no move to come to terms. He further excited them by warning them that he would be revenged upon them and upon Herry. He sent an expedition fifty Dutch miles inland in an effort to persuade inland Hottentots to come and trade, and to obtain information of Herry's whereabouts. Even the Bushmen—whom the soldiers meet now for the first time—laughed when they asked where Herry was. Cattle continued only to dribble in. He tried again to get the Capemen to sell. They pleaded that they lived on their cattle. They agreed to do odd jobs at the fort—to fetch fuel for the cooks and so on, to compensate for their inability to part with their cattle. This, he wrote, "especially granted, to have them at hand when it is necessary to seize them".

Near Salt River other Hottentots were grazing 600 head of cattle and as many sheep. They told the same tale about having to live on their cattle. Garrison men sent to the camp get with difficulty a cow and six sheep. The men reported that the

Hottentot cattle was guarded by only three men and "could easily be captured", but van Riebeeck reflected that such an act would make the roads unsafe. If he would lift the cattle he must first take the men. They could "easily be got within the fort and made as drunk as pigs, the more so as their confidence in us is unlimited. We often," he is writing to the Directorate, "made the experiment, in case it might be found necessary to carry out our plan."

Herry reappeared at the fort seventeen months after the fatal Sunday evening. He came attended by fifty armed Hottentots of a tribe strange to van Riebeeck: Chainouquas. Their visit was to inaugurate the tribe's trading with the fort to a peaceful and profitable extent. Their habitat was far enough away for their chief to be saved, as the chief of the Saldanhas was not, from being pestered by emissaries from the fort in van Riebeeck's time, and they took advantage of trade without harm.

Herry made his excuses for his long absence; declared that he was innocent of the murder of the herd-boy and had absconded from fright. He blamed the Capemen, and explained the Saldanhas' reluctance to trade as resulting from the Capemen's warning them against the Dutch. He concluded his apology by promising to serve the Company by causing much cattle to be brought from inland.

Van Riebeeck was thankful to believe him, or to pretend to do so. Without Herry to interpret it had been all the more difficult to persuade the surrounding Hottentots to bring in cattle. For a time Herry was as good as his word and van Riebeeck wrote to the Directorate: "It seems as if Herry is sincerely trying to benefit the Company."

Meantime the Directorate had answered his extravagances about enslaving whole tribes by setting men to work upon the islands and banishing their wives and children to Batavia in order to avenge the death of the herd-boy and the reluctance to trade. Directorate avarice was not aroused by the prospect of raiding thousands of head of Hottentot cattle. Instructions were brief: If the herd's murderer could be found he should be executed. The troublesome Herry should be sent to Batavia, and exactly the number of cattle which had been stolen should be demanded back from the Hottentots. The idea, he was told, was to "act with wisdom and discretion".

In June '55 he writes to explain that he has pardoned Herry. "Not only do we fully accept his innocence, but whilst he was absent we were in great straits." He assures the Directors that he has decided against sending him to Batavia. He now wishes

for permission to liquidate the Capemen who will not sell their cattle, and who, he is convinced, frighten off the Saldanhas.

In October the Directors express themselves as satisfied that Herry has been pardoned and reinstated as interpreter, but, they proceed: "for the present we leave in abeyance your suggestion to seize the Capemen . . . such extreme remedies one should be slow in adopting".

While this exchange of letters was going on Herry was guilty of a further delinquency. Van Riebeeck sent him with some men of the garrison and a pack-ox carrying barter goods to procure cattle inland. The corporal in charge of the party, William Muller, was not the stuff of which leaders are made. The party had got no further than Rondebosch when Herry showed his determination to take charge and declared his preference to go on alone. That he had planned to repay himself for his trouble and get something out of the barter turned out to be a fact, but a further reason for his wanting to get rid of the soldiers may have been that he feared the inland Hottentots would make him suffer for guiding soldiers into their territory. Muller sent a report back to the fort. Van Riebeeck offered him reinforcements and told him to let Herry go on alone if he insisted. Muller refused the extra men and decided to carry on. He made a desultory march across the False Bay flats where a few Hottentots cropped up and all sorts of nonsense went on in their attempts to hinder the advance. The party succeeded in surmounting the Hottentots Holland range above Gordon's Bay, and in the valley above Muller gave Herry his way and returned.

Eventually Herry arrived back at the fort bringing only 13 head of cattle. For the rest he had replenished his own little stock, part of which he had got from the Chainouquas when he first returned to the fort with them. He declared that most of the barter goods had been stolen from him. Van Riebeeck again pretended to believe him, but the sin was to cost Herry dear. Presently he left the fort. The soldiers frightened him, he said, by threatening vengeance for the herd-boy's death. He returned later and pitched his kraal near by, but his term of favour was over. He ceased to act as a regular interpreter. He was distrusted at the fort, and the other Hottentots distrusted him, too, fearing the trouble his schemes brought about.

The soldiers' attitude reflected van Riebeeck's. In spite of the Directorate's order for moderation he was determined to punish the Capemen and Herry and renewed as a stick to beat them all with "revenge for the murder of the herd-boy", now four years ago, and for the loss of the barter goods.

"The Cape Hottentots," he writes, "dare boldly assert that they are not pleased at the ploughing of the land, and our using the grass for our own purposes, as it always grew for their cattle."

He is not even mollified by their courteous admission that "as they still get some of it they would let it pass for the present, provided we did not take too much of it".

He tells them that if they will not sell their cattle they are to clear out. Yet he himself has recently written: "The Commander knew very well that nothing was to be had of the Capemen, and their cattle was their only riches."

He warns them that they might remain only if they supplied ten head of cattle and five sheep for every large ship that came into port and for every small ship in proportion. Their small flocks and herds could not stand it. Herry was spokesman for them all at this indaba. He protested that the land belonged to him and the Capemen, and that he did his best to get the richer Hottentots to barter. Van Riebeeck replied that their "claim to the ownership of Cape lands could not be entertained by the Company, which had taken possession of them for its own purposes". If the Capemen would not sell he "cared very little about them".

The following month he was writing to the Directors of his being in possession of "more than a double" sufficiency of cattle for the ships. He complains that he has to guard the cattle with soldiers. The Cape Hottentots, he declares, would steal it else. They are all "thieves of the Company's cattle and accomplices in the murder of the boy, hence", he reminds them, "revenge and their punishment may well be kept in mind so as to be taken and inflicted in the manner most serviceable to the Company".

3

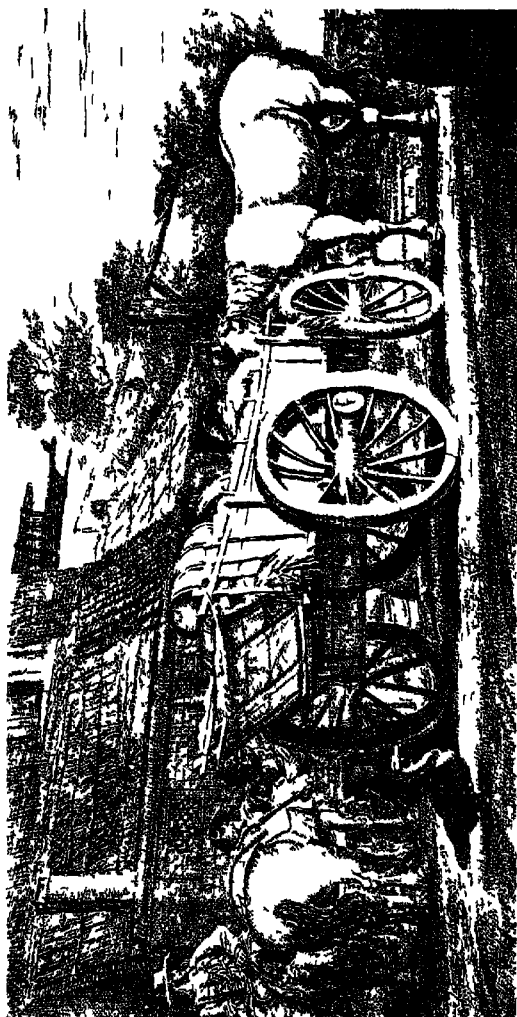
This was the state of affairs when the decision was taken to establish freemen farmers on the land. In March 1657 Rykloff van Goens, Governor-General of Netherlands India, landed at the Cape and acted as Commissioner. All over the Peninsula to the last retreat of the Hottentots van Goens explored accompanied by van Riebeeck and a body of soldiers. Hottentots hovered about and watched the proceedings with profound misgiving. They were told what was going to happen. "Where are we to go?" they asked. "Where pasture our cattle?" Van Riebeeck assured them that there was "room for all". This appeared to the Hottentots to be so unlikely that they "only half liked the idea". Watered land was not as plentiful at the Cape as all that, and here was their best pasture, along the Liesbeeck River, going by the board.

When they persisted in complaint van Riebeeck coldly recommended them to betake themselves "eight to ten hours' march to the north-east". That, Herry explained, would carry them into the territory of the Saldanhas who might attack them for trespass. In all solemnity van Riebeeck gave Herry his answer. "Hollanders," he said, "were no nation to rob another of his property, but desired to live in friendship with all and trade." "Herry," the Journal continues, "did not seem to like this." Indeed, we may imagine the expression on the face of that astute little savage. Conceivably he was wondering if van Riebeeck were quite right in his head.

Van Goens had a plan in mind to have a canal dug across the Peninsula by means of which the Cape Hottentots might be barricaded into the southern end of it. If this idea proved too expensive redoubts would have to be built to guard all the ways of egress from the south. These redoubts would be combined with van Riebeeck's plan to plant an impenetrable hedge which should sweep like a protecting arm round the arc of the extended settlement. The Hottentots once enclosed "the Company would obtain its cattle from the enclosures"—van Riebeeck writing—"whenever it liked in the form of the usual, but forced, barter". To get the Cape Hottentots into a concentration camp in this fashion would also have the effect of preventing their warning off inland natives from the fort, particularly the Saldanhas who had avoided the fort for two years. (Avoided it, or in the natural course of events had found alternate grazing elsewhere during this time.)

Though van Goens subscribed to the idea of barricading the Hottentots into grazing land beyond the settlement he did not do so (especially, it seems, after closer acquaintance with van Riebeeck's turn of mind) without some reservation. In his report to the Directorate he wrote: "To remove them by violence seems unreasonable because this could not be done without the danger of shedding the blood of some of them." Again, in the Instructions he left for van Riebeeck, after a resumé of the canal scheme, etc., he suggests another alternative: "To endeavour to live with them in such good confidence that we need fear no evil from them."

He also directs that only if the Hottentots prove to be too great a nuisance should van Riebeeck seize hostages—another of his ideas—and place them on Robben Island. He does not agree with van Riebeeck either that any blood should be shed in revenge for the murder committed four years ago, unless the actual murderer be discovered. After all, things are not so bad. People



From the picture by G. Bleker

A WAGON

Reproduced by courtesy of the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

of the station travel "whither they like" in safety. Threats of a weapon, so the soldiers said, had sometimes accompanied demands for a man's food or tobacco, but the threat of a gun was as ready. "It would be barbarous and unchristian," he tells van Riebeeck. "to seize them all, kill, or deport them." He recommends to the Directorate that a *Secunde* should be appointed to exercise some restraint upon the Commander's "windy ideas".

In October '57 van Riebeeck, following van Goen's instructions to seek the nearest Saldanha encampment if the tribe did not bring its herds to the Cape, sent out an expedition, and in the following February sent out another. The first expedition resulted in the discovery of the Berg River and its fine pastures. Saldanha kraals were found pitched all along the farther bank of the river. So little trade resulted that it did not pay for the journey. The Saldanhas declared that they had all the barter goods they wanted for the time being. There was, however, that about this visit which had repercussions.

Van Goens had given the freemen permission to barter for cattle with the Hottentots. The permission was soon to be withdrawn, but for the time it operated. The freemen came to hear of the projected journey, urged that they should be allowed to take part in it, and nine of them did so. Principal amongst them in the use he made of this opportunity to make friends with the Hottentots for his own ends was the farmer Herman Remajenne. When the permission to barter was withdrawn he became a determined illicit dealer. There remained at home another man, Jan Reyniers, whose cottage was situated on the track which the Hottentots took on their way to the fort. He, too, was not to be deterred by the ban upon barter, and was to make the most of the convenient situation of his farm. The expedition started from his house, and while the men were still away some Saldanha tribesmen arrived there and remained there, kraaling their cattle with his.

Other freemen reported this event, and van Riebeeck sent the sergeant Harwarden with gifts of pipes and tobacco and a message to persuade them to come to the fort. They came, but without their cattle. "Most of the day" van Riebeeck talked to them (his interpreter a Hottentot girl, Eva, of whom more presently), but he could not persuade them that it would be a good thing for Saldanhas to abide at the Cape with their cattle. They talked of great ships and great captains who might come into the Bay and rob them of their cattle and kill them themselves.

The second expedition was also a success from the point of view of exploration. The garrison men found the pass

(Tulbagh) through the "Mountain range of Africa" (the great encirclement of ranges stretching from Tulbagh to Somerset West), and opened the gateway through which new settlers were to pass in Willem Adriaan van der Stel's time, and on into the Karroo.

The immediate sequel was the apparition at the fort of a Chainouqua emissary, one Chanhantima. "He earnestly begged us," writes van Riebeeck, "not to send any men inland." Sufficient cattle would come, Chanhantima promised. Herds were already on their way down. If Dutchmen with firearms appeared the tribesmen would turn back. In any event, they would camp no nearer than the Berg River. From there parties of men would come to the fort every ten days or so and would bring what cattle the tribe was prepared to sell.

4

It was May 1658 when Chanhantima came to the fort. In the previous March the Commissioner Cuneus had brought back to the Cape in the return fleet a Hottentot whom van Goens had taken with him to Batavia. The man was a Capeman. He had been one of those knocking about the fort, ready to do an odd job and learning Dutch. The settlers nicknamed him "the Domine", because he was "such a simple-minded man". Subsequent events make us wonder at the reserve hidden behind the village idiot demeanour which earned him his nickname. Doman was actually a brave, determined and intelligent man. He made the most of his experience abroad. He learned fluent Dutch; how to handle firearms, and how the clumsy weapons of the period were apt to misfire in wet weather; and the methods which rebellious Javanese used to express their resentment against Dutch occupation.

Cuneus established him as interpreter at the fort to replace the defaulting Herry, and to assist the girl Eva in this office. He could thus earn "his food and clothes". Not a generous recompense for all he was expected to do. Had he been able to procure fair treatment for his tribe van Riebeeck would not, perhaps, have had cause to describe him as "a worse pest than Herry ever was".

The girl Eva was about fifteen at this time. She was Herry's niece and sister to the head wife of Oedaso, chief of the Saldanhas. In 1652, soon after the fleet's arrival, Mrs. van Riebeeck had taken the child to train her in domestic service. She called her Eva, and as Eva she appears in all the records. Her Hottentot name was Krotoa.

By the time Doman returned from Batavia van Riebeeck was already placing much confidence in her, discussing with her his interminable conjectures about the true inwardness of her countrymen's designs. He imposes upon her a double rôle, which she supports with incredible aplomb. The time is now approaching when she will become his chief interpreter, even his guide in a crisis. The tragic story of this girl—to be corrupted and lost—gradually unfolds itself in the bland paragraphs of the Cape Journals with the vivid brevity of the Bible.

She and Doman speedily became at loggerheads. With no little cause he mistrusted her private sessions with van Riebeeck.

During this month of May Hottentots executed several raids upon freemen's cattle grazing on the Liesbeeck pastures. Doman was at the fort, and upon investigation none of the stolen beasts was found among the Capemen herd. The consequences were, however, hardly calculated to soothe the Capemen. When the first raid took place the robbed freemen (Hendrik Boom, a middle-aged man who had been the Company's head-gardener, and Jan Reyniers, who had some cattle stolen next day) set out for the Capemen's camp to seize any tribesmen they could lay their hands on. By this time the tribe had fled except for the aged and corpulent chief, Gogosa, who could not move fast enough. He was said to be a centenarian. Him, Boom and Reyniers tortured by stringing him up to the rafters of Reyniers's house in order to make him confess who had stolen the cattle. Fortunately, the intervention of a third freeman, Rosendaal, stopped these proceedings.

The torturing of Gogosa was immediately followed by an episode which exasperated the Capemen to the last degree, and caused consternation as far as the Chainouquas. It was in March of this year when the Company's ship which had captured a Portuguese slaver left a batch of West African slaves at the Cape. In June they began running away. They were several sizes larger than the Hottentots who hated them and were afraid of them. Van Riebeeck concluded, however, that they sheltered them. Hottentot women, in fear or pity, were caught carrying food to some hiding-place. Van Riebeeck also blamed the freemen for the way in which they treated their slaves, and issued a proclamation warning them "not to make them surly by continued beating, thumping, and scolding" (slaves ran away whether a man was good to them or not), but it was the Hottentots he punished.

He acted upon information which he got out of the sixteen-year-old Eva in a private talk with her. Previous to this he had

questioned her and Doman together. Doman, asked why the Hottentots would not seek the runaways, "coolly replied that he did not know", and was furious with Eva for not exercising the same discretion. Eva, doubtless eager to please her master and as eager to harm the Capemen if by so doing she could divert blame from her uncle Herry and the Watermen, was ready to subscribe to van Riebeeck's suggestion that Gogosa held the slaves. Doman raged at her afterwards and told her: "I am a Hottentot, not a Dutchman, but you, Eva, fawn upon the Commander." The girl was a traitor to her race.

Smarting under his insults, she now confided more fully in van Riebeeck, fearfully, beseeching him not to betray her confidence, promising always to speak openly if he would keep it secret. She said the Capemen had a mind to give the slaves to the Saldanhas in order to gain their goodwill, and the Saldanhas would pass them on to a further tribe.

It is possible that the slaves themselves initiated some idea of being passed on from tribe to tribe northwards; of being finally ransomed on arriving home in this way.

Eva advised, according to van Riebeeck's statement, though the suggestion might well have come from him, that if he took the three sons of Gogosa hostage the slaves would soon be returned. The result was that Schacher, Otegno, and Jan were tricked to the fort and seized.

Other Hottentots loitering about the fort witnessed the seizure, Doman amongst them. The mob, terrified, promised to run off at once and seek the slaves. Not so Doman. Before them all he raised his voice and condemned Eva. Eva had advised this thing and should be destroyed. In a storm of passion he refuted van Riebeeck's declaration that she had no share in the matter.

To go into the details of the interminable sessions which van Riebeeck held with the Hottentots over this business would be tedious. We must be content to sum them up in the result. Van Riebeeck became convinced that the Capemen did not entice the slaves away and that "they ran away of themselves". He would not, however, let his hostages go so easily. The slave issue faded into the background, and he revived the old injury of the herd's murder and Herry's juggling with the barter goods. He wrote to the Directorate ". . . some of the principal men may be left in detention until the 43 (*sic*) head of cattle stolen by them five years ago have been restored, as well as payment for the copper and tobacco annexed by Herry. After that we shall be able in a gradual manner to discover the murderers of the Dutch boy whom we

believe to be one of the prisoners and of Herry's people. [In the quarrelling which resulted from his cross-questioning, when each tribe sought to shift the blame to the other, he had seized his third hostage, Jan Cou, and was to seize a fifth, one Boubo or Simon, and a sixth, Herry.] Should we be induced to pardon the guilty party we expect we shall be able to arrange matters in such a way that some good will result and be maintained by continually holding some of them in detention as hostages." He concludes: "They seem to be quite dazed by these procedures."

His seizure of Herry was particularly base because he had promised him in the beginning that if he would exercise himself to find the slaves he and the Capemen "would be allowed to dwell as good friends in the neighbourhood at all times, to be better protected against other natives living in the interior". Herry gathered together "twenty-five stalwart Hottentots" and went all out to fulfil this behest. If he had little success it was not for want of trying. When the case turned upon the old murder and theft Doman and Gogosa insisted that as Herry was at the root of these early troubles it should be he who should pay forfeit. He was coaxed to the fort by the fiscal's "sweet palaver" and his cattle seized. His herdsman resisted the attack. To them it was a raid pure and simple. An assegai just missed the sergeant. The sergeant shot two Hottentots, one fatally. The court of justice which proceeded to sit on the murder of the Dutch herd-boy arrived at nothing constructive. The prisoners were locked up again. Van Riebeeck walked out into the air. Doman followed him. "Why," he asked, "had not the Commander killed Herry?"—the scapegoat who was to set the captives free. "If the others wished his death," van Riebeeck replied, "they had a good opportunity, he being locked up in the same room." Herry, however, was not killed by his countrymen, at this time nor at any other time. Eva pleaded for her Uncle Herry "as Esther for Mordecai", but to no purpose.

The Council met that night. "It was feared that in the present circumstances the natives might conspire together in consequence of what is still going on." The whole settlement numbered only 97 men, but fortunately a ship lay at anchor. Twenty soldiers were landed from her, 1000 lbs. of gunpowder, some hand-grenades and some extra cannon. Nothing happened.

Two days later, on Sunday, 7th July, "after the sermon", van Riebeeck made the peace with the Capemen which asked for war. He released the sons of Gogosa on condition that the fiscal's killing the Hottentot should be considered "as if the whole had

never taken place. . . ." They were to return runaway slaves; cease to intercept other Hottentots bringing cattle to the fort; and, finally, agree to supply every large vessel of the fleets with ten oxen and ten sheep; every small one with five oxen and five sheep, and every Sunday to supply the garrison with two oxen and the Commander and officers with two sheep. (The previous February van Riebeeck had reported to the Directorate that he required an average of eight sheep and eight head of cattle for each ship. In actual fact, Chainouqua cattle had come in so satisfactorily that presently he would warn the Capemen off a further area of pasturage.)

Such terms were blank ruin for the Capemen. They agreed to everything. They had come to free Gogosa's sons. Van Riebeeck distributed little flags to them which they were to carry when approaching the settlement as an earnest they came in peace. Next morning they drove their peace-offering of prime beasts into the Company's herd: ten oxen and nine sheep. At the same time they pointed out that among the cattle driven off as Herry's were 48 of their beasts. "We replied," writes van Riebeeck, "that we considered what we found in Herry's camp as his own, and inadequate to recoup us for what we had lost in cattle and copper." It was "finally agreed" that between the men who claimed the 48 head 12 should be distributed.

"Total 12," writes van Riebeeck in his Journal, "which deducted from 48 leaves 36."

He goes on to add up the total of Herry's cattle and deducts theft of the original 44 and theft of barter goods and comes out with a balance to the good in cash value 375 gulden. None the less, Herry was told that "there is no intention of returning anything to him as the value of what he had stolen was more than what had been recovered, the probability being that if the cattle had not been stolen they would have multiplied largely. Moreover, the murder of the boy is still an open question, and not yet forgotten."

He sent him, Boubo, and Jan Cou to Robben Island.

He was soon to realise how little his heavy Sunday had served his purpose. The Capemen brought no cattle and stories of impending revenge for his severity, and the killing of the Hottentot herd soon reached him. Hardly a month passed before he was obliged to release Jan Cou, and finally Boubo. Saldanhas and Chainouquas pestered him by visits to the fort, urging release and exhibiting a disturbing concern. (While inland Hottentots were coming and going in this fashion three sheep were stolen from the Company's herd. Saldanhas were made suspect, but the thieves

turned out to be garrison men on loan as farm-hands. Such incidents, and they were by no means rare, made it no easier for the Hottentot to regard the European as sacrosanct, particularly as they themselves were sometimes the victims of European cattle thieves.) At last even the Capemen braved the fort for the sake of their comrades, bringing a handful of animals to ransom them. Van Riebeeck so far relented as to release Jan Cou. Boubo had presently to be released because he pined away to such an extent that it was feared he would die and be thought murdered.

Only Herry remained now. "A poor wretch, only chief of the beachcombers," as Doman had expressed it. Nobody minded about Herry. The little Napoleon was left on his Elba, and Elba it was to prove to be.

5

Calm, or to van Riebeeck the appearance of calm, descended upon the scene. The Chainouquas had promised to bring as much cattle as the Capemen had been ordered to bring for the ships, and were as good as their word. Doman went out and about to persuade his countrymen, he said, to bring in yet more cattle. Eva expressed a desire to visit the Saldanhas. Van Riebeeck let her go, depending upon her to exercise her powers in persuading Oedasoa to have closer relations with the fort.

The curious part about this affair was that Doman escorted her from the fort, apparently in amity with her for the nonce, and took her first to the Capemen's camp where her mother lived. Later, she was reported to be living with Gonnema's wives. There was significance in her abstraction from the fort. Quite what, it would be difficult to say. The most likely reason was that Oedasoa wished her out of harm's way, and at the same time to have the benefit of her knowledge of the Dutch. On the other hand the idea may have originated with Doman in order to get rid of her and her safe journey to the Saldanhas a gesture on his part to placate Oedasoa.

Everything points to the fact that the Capemen were endeavouring to get Oedasoa to support them in their struggle. Oedasoa, however, was cautious. The constant appearance of Chainouquas at the fort doubtless caused him uneasiness, and his indetermination brought about friction between Saldanhas and the Cape tribes.

Van Riebeeck came to hear about it when in October Doman complained to him that Saldanhas were doing mischief amongst the Capemen and the Chorachouquas. He had a plan ready which he judged would appeal to the Commander's greed of cattle, and

at the same time solve the troubles of the Cape tribes. He suggested that van Riebeeck should lend them twenty soldiers with whose aid they would raid the Saldanha herds, and that the Company should share the booty. In this way the Company would become possessed of much cattle.

Van Riebeeck records his reply: "Doman was therefore told that the chiefs of the Capemen and the Chorachouquas should visit the Commander to confer with him," and he sent off Doman with the message.

The result was not the appearance at the fort of Gogosa and Chora but, within a week, of Eva. She was attended by four of Oedasoa's tribesmen. They brought 39 sheep for barter, but this was only an introduction. Eva was the bearer of a message from Oedasoa to van Riebeeck. Van Riebeeck reported it to the Directorate as follows: "That we should not interfere with anyone, but that if anyone did us mischief we might offer resistance without his, or any other Saldanha's, taking umbrage at it, as his only object was to trade and to live in friendship with us."

In discussion Eva amplified this message. "Oedasoa told her also that we should not assist any of the Hottentot tribes, but leave them to one another to do just as they liked." Van Riebeeck assured her that such was his intention.

Van Riebeeck was delighted with Oedasoa's approach. He hoped for an alliance with the Saldanhas against the Capemen. He called his Council and passed a resolution determining to send Harwarden in command of a party of soldiers as a deputation to Oedasoa. Its preamble ran as follows:

"Eva having made us acquainted with the kindly disposition of the Chochoquas towards us, and with their request not to assist their enemies with our arms, a threat they must hear every day from the Capemen and the Gorachouquas, who further added that we intended to rob them [the Saldanhas] of their cattle and capture their chief. . . ."

Harwarden is instructed to offer Oedasoa "an alliance . . . and to bring about an interview between him and van Riebeeck that eternal friendship might be established".

Van Riebeeck talked long with Eva about the best way to please her brother-in-law. A pack-ox is to be laden with presents. She tells how she has described the spices and other good things which the Dutch eat, and asks that people who could play musical instruments should be sent, for the Hottentots loved music.

Van Riebeeck was anxious to get the party away without Doman's knowledge. "As luck would have it", he had gone on board a ship in the bay to get his presents of food and strong drink

which was his perquisite. The weather blew up rough and the party was away before he could be landed. He was furious. One minute the Commander was ready to discuss a plan in alliance with the Cape tribes to raid the Saldanhas, the next he was parleying with their enemies! Van Riebeeck now replies: "We wished to live on friendly terms with all the natives, none excepted, who wished to trade with us and be friendly." Doman prophesied that the men would be killed. Van Riebeeck assured him that the Capemen would pay forfeit if they were. "All Eva's fault!" snapped Doman.

Meanwhile, anything but harm comes to the soldiers. Oedasoa and his tribesmen receive their guests with every hospitality. In Oedasoa the soldiers find "a beardless man over middle-age, small and thin, very stately, and a man of authority amongst his people". His tribesmen were all "full-grown [well-developed], powerful men". Their cattle "were in such number that the end could not be seen. . . . The animals were so magnificent one could hardly see over the backs of the oxen".

With music and feasting the reception lasted all through the night. Harwarden fiddled, and another soldier appears to have caused much merriment by his clowning. When the time came to go "fully a thousand of the tribe" accompanied the soldiers for half an hour to set them on their way.

They brought only 3 cows and 13 sheep, and Eva to interpret Oedasoa's reply to van Riebeeck. Civilly, he regretted that he could not bring his tribe to camp near the fort as there was insufficient grazing at this season. He declined to attack the Capemen unless they caused him himself "too much bother". He excused himself from visiting the fort on the score that his chief wife was ill. He expressed himself as desirous of living in friendship with the Commander, and would allow his people to trade as much cattle as they liked.

That was all. The visit was over; the fifteen men safely home from their sojourn among thousands of Hottentots. The honours had been done, Oedasoa hoped on both sides.

It was, unfortunately for Oedasoa, far otherwise. Van Riebeeck was not content to allow the Saldanhas to digest Harwarden's successful visit. In his opinion it was unsuccessful from every point of view. To receive such description of flocks and herds and to obtain only 3 cows and 13 sheep! This, at all events, must be remedied at once. Two days later Harwarden set out with a fresh party, accompanied by "two trusted Hottentots" as interpreters, one of them a boy, Little John (Cleijn Jan) "a

clever little fellow of about 13". They took a waggon-load of merchandise. The result was disappointing: 203 sheep and 25 head of cattle from Oedaso's people and 100 sheep and 7 oxen from Gonnema's. Eva did not return. She elected to remain, or Oedaso elected that she should remain, with his chief wife, her sister. The story went that her sister was to find her a husband, a great chief, with much cattle. She did not return until the last day of the year.

Van Riebeeck falls back on his old cry: "With 20 or 30 good soldiers," he writes in his Journal, fifteen or sixteen thousand sheep or oxen might be taken without a blow." From Gonnema especially. Why not? Was not Gonnema at the fort five years ago when Herry stole 44 head of cattle and the herd-boy was killed? He may "at least be considered as one of his advisers". At any rate, barter he should. Harwarden would have to go out yet again. The quicker the better, for he had reported that the tribes were on the move further inland. He brought 105 sheep and 11 cows, mostly from Gonnema, and the rest from lesser tribes on the way home. Oedaso was gone.

Van Riebeeck was still disgruntled, especially as he found that "they only sell what they wish to get rid of, namely, all their worst animals, for daily some die". None the less, he had done pretty well, and the Capemen's pasture would have to pay for it.

In February of the new year the country was still so safe that he was able to send out an expedition of seven men with the idea of discovering the Emperor of Monomotapa. Doman threatened that they would be killed but no harm whatever came to them, though Hottentots everywhere entreated them to turn back. They reached the tidal mouth of the Berg River and were home again in a month. It was the dry season and their way destitute of pasture for their oxen and short of water for all.

In earlier discussions Eva had encouraged van Riebeeck to believe that a month was all that was needed to find the emperor. She had told him wonderful stories of the Chief of the Chobonas—actually of Bantu plus a lot of rigmarole intended, no doubt, to exhibit the black man on some equality with the white. Van Riebeeck concluded that Chobonas must be Monomotapans.

His despatches of the following month hardly reflect a suspicion that Nemesis stood almost at his elbow:

"Matters are in a desirable state here both as regards cultivation and the breeding of cattle, as well as the bartering of same from the real Saldanhas, so that at present we have not only abundance but can depend on ourselves alone, and also begin to have something over."

There was, of course, the discontent among the freemen, and that tiresome petition of last December when in rustic and discourteous terms they had bitterly complained of being ground down and of his management. The fuss was soon over. He had "made them lay their heads in their laps". He was aware they liked him none the better for it. However, he hopes "to check it in good time, and not bother ourselves much about it".

Of the Capemen he reports that they do not fulfil the conditions of the peace-pact, that is to say, they bring no cattle for sale, "and thus expose themselves to great danger. The same," he continues, "may be said of the Gorachouquas who are rich in cattle, for stealing our tobacco [1657]. . . . In time we shall be able to pay off both these tribes for what they have done. In fact, they would already have been paid off if only we had received the horses promised us. . . ."

He complains that the Saldanhas laugh at his trying to get them to kill elephants for him. Elephants, they say, are found at too great distance and among too savage a people. Moreover, they don't know how to kill elephants. But Oedasoa has lately been mauled by a lion "catching wild horses for us".

He writes further, apparently excluding the Capemen and Gorachouquas from his remarks: "The Hottentots now trade without anxiety and continuously, so that at present the Company is very rich in cattle and sheep, and also in such a tranquil state . . . no Hottentot dares any longer to think of doing mischief. . . ." Indeed, he explains, the Company has so much cattle that there is not enough grazing for it without taking in more pasturage beyond the freemen's farms on the Liesbeeck. It takes, he says, "at least" 20 soldier-herds to "keep the Hottentots off. We wish, therefore, that we had the horses, as we would then be able to make ourselves masters of the beautiful cattle of the Gorachouquas or Tobacco Thieves from whom we can obtain nothing except old and lame animals, and we still owe them the same trick we played Herry. . . . Herry's theft has been beautifully repaid by the 110 very beautiful cattle and 250 sheep" taken from him, "whilst at the same time the murder of the Dutch boy was avenged in the killing of one Hottentot and the wounding of some others".

This document, like other revelations from the Cape, and apart from its inconsistency, caused the Directors to stir uneasily in their chairs. They might well do so.

The rains came and Doman took command. The Cape Hottentots were to make their final and most determined effort to expel the intruders. They opened hostilities on May 4th by a raid of seven oxen from the Company's herd, during which action a Hottentot was shot and died a few days later.

Van Riebeeck sent the fiscal to reclaim the beasts from the Hottentot camp. He was instructed to avoid a clash of arms, and to warn them that further aggression would nullify the peace-pact.

This event was followed by a petition to van Riebeeck from the freemen to be allowed to attack the Hottentots with the help of the garrison. Van Riebeeck's formation of the Burgher Militia was about a week old and doubtless they were anxious to try their mettle. The two burgher councillors were invited to sit with the Council of Policy to discuss whether or not this petition should be implemented and war declared on the Hottentots.

In writing to the Directors and in his Journal van Riebeeck makes the most of this petition, for in their despatch of the previous September they had reiterated their opinion that the Hottentots had not given sufficient cause for the Company to attack them. The despatch ran as follows: "Should they be unwilling to trade we have no right to take their things by force, and we have hitherto received no sufficient reason for doing so."

All the Hottentot iniquities, such as they were, were known to them from van Riebeeck's inexhaustible descriptions. It is possible that Commissioners had made them more aware of theft and other wrongs practised upon the Hottentot. "Malevolence", they direct, must be dealt with, for the rest "we are to do our best to obtain breeding-stock for ourselves, so that we may have our own cattle".

Van Riebeeck wished to prove that "cause sufficient has now been given". After the Council meeting the Council repaired to the freemen's lands and van Riebeeck addressed the freemen. In effect he threw the onus of responsibility upon them. He even reminded them that vengeance was the Lord's, a recollection absent hitherto from his despatches to the Directorate. "It should also be considered," he warned them, "whether the proposed attack would secure the object proposed," namely to cow the Hottentots into permanent submission as the freemen in their petition presumed it would. It might further inflame the Capemen and frighten other Hottentots from approach to the fort, and make the roads unsafe. He also warned them that if their petition were implemented the Company could not recompense them for any loss

they might suffer. The Company had set them up once and could not do so again.

The freemen were still ready to chance their luck. Most of them were heavily in debt to the Company; things could hardly be worse. Assegais and arrows were no match for guns and cannon. Even in wet weather guns went off often enough.

More than one signed the petition with his tongue in his cheek, which as time went on reduced the proceeding to something of a farce. The coming "war" was not to prevent these men bartering for cattle with the enemy, and rewarding the compliant Hottentot by warning him of ambush designed to destroy him.

The day after the discussion about the petition Saldanhas arrived at the fort with animals for barter, and hearing van Riebeeck's sore complaints about the Capemen expressed wonder that he did not take it out of them. Doman tried to butt into this indaba and the Saldanhas beat him. Van Riebeeck's anxiety about attack lest the Saldanhas should resent it was comforted. Some days later two freemen farms were looted of 16 oxen. On May 19th a Resolution in Council formally declared war on the Capemen, the aim described as being "to take as many cattle and male prisoners as possible, avoiding at the same time unnecessary bloodshed, but keeping the prisoners as hostages. . . . the rather as we are assured that the Saldanhas, their enemies, will care as little about them as about Herry, but will come more freely and deal with us more confidently than before, as the Capemen have always been found to be the chief preventers of that intercourse". The session concluded with prayer to the Lord God for His blessing and assistance.

The Capemen, too, planned attack with as little bloodshed as possible, unlikely though it sounds. Twice during the course of operations they shouted from out of gun-range that they did not wish to kill Dutchmen, they only wanted the cattle. (Up to this outbreak in '59 only two deaths of Europeans at the hand of the Hottentot are recorded: the herd-boy and a runaway sailor at Saldanha Bay.)

Van Riebeeck offered a reward of 100 gulden for Doman alive and 50 for him dead; 20 gulden for any other Hottentot alive and 10 dead. Black convicts were armed with assegais and offered their freedom in reward for service. Each farm had already been given a soldier to help guard the cattle.

Van Riebeeck complained that often the farmers lost cattle through their own negligence. "Everyone appears to prefer his own way than to follow given orders." Nothing appears to have

been more ragged than discipline. When he held a parade of the burgher militia he offered a glass of brandy to all who attended. He wrote: "It is evident that many lazy ones will be tempted by the brandy who otherwise would remain behind."

Hostilities continued for three months. According to the record in van Riebeeck's Journal only one freeman was killed—one Simon in 't Veld—"after he had discharged his gun at the Hottentots". Afterwards, the Hottentots declared that they would not otherwise have attacked him. Of the soldiers two herds were killed. In a despatch to the Directorate later describing events van Riebeeck states that "many" freemen were wounded. There is no such record in his Journal which is ordinarily exhaustive. "Several" would have described the limit for both freemen and soldiers, and this is all he records. He wrote at a time when by magnifying the savagery of the Hottentots and blaming the freemen he sought to excuse himself.

The great problem all through the three months skirmishing was to discover where the raiding Hottentots were encamped, that they might be attacked in a body. Van Riebeeck's own spies could discover nothing. A ship came in and reinforcements scoured the country without result. Van Riebeeck hoped that Oedasoia would come to his aid. The fiscal had already been sent abroad to visit him, but so far nothing had come of it.

Meantime, he decided to bring Herry over from Robben Island to act as a spy. "Golden promises," he wrote, "as big as mountains will be made to him, but none will be held binding." At this juncture, June 20th, a party of Saldanha tribesmen arrived as emissaries from Oedasoia. Herry was hustled back to Robben Island lest his presence should complicate the indaba. He had been re-clad in European clothes, and thought he had returned to favour. His dismay at being ordered back into the boat was pitiable, much to van Riebeeck's amusement.

A battle of wits was now afoot between van Riebeeck and Oedasoia, though at the moment van Riebeeck was less aware of it than Oedasoia. What had happened was that "some weeks before" the Capemen "had sent presents of copper and tobacco and asked for his assistance or permission to remove towards the interior in order no longer to be injured by the Dutch". This had brought Doman's diplomatic exercises to an issue. Oedasoia and his councillors had to decide upon the best means to secure the safety and prosperity of the Saldanhas, as against the danger of protecting or aiding the small Cape tribe and bringing down the wrath of the Dutch upon their own heads. There was also the

danger that an inland tribe more powerful than the Saldanhas would make an alliance with the Dutch, and the Saldanhas be destroyed by the combination. Wisdom decreed that an approach should be made to van Riebeeck to discover whether he intended serious war against the Capemen, and whether he was likely to honour the terms of an alliance if the Saldanhas committed themselves so far as to help him liquidate the Capemen.

Hence the appearance of Oedasoa's emissaries. They brought his offer of his "firm unchangeable peace and closer alliance". He wished to know "whether the Commander really intended war with the Capemen so that he might rely upon it and with the Commander take steps to ruin the Capemen". He said, according to Eva, that the Capemen had savagely attacked him in the past, and he was glad that the Commander now knew what they were like. In the event of a war in alliance against the Capemen he wished for the Commander's word that he would not make a separate peace. He promised all the barter the fort wanted, and asked that Eva might be sent with a deputation of Dutchmen to discuss matters.

In the course of discussion while the Saldanhas were still at the fort it came out that Gonnema had not subscribed to this approach. In fact, he had quarrelled with Oedasoa about it, and Oedasoa had ordered him to take his share of people and cattle and go away. Gonnema had declared his intention to "keep out of the way, not assisting the Cape tribes, but if all went well proposing to trade with the Dutch as before". This action of Gonnema's was significant. He would not trust the Dutch, nor would he take up arms against the Capemen who, from many indications, appear to have been friends of his. In any event, he probably foresaw that Hottentots would lose in the long run if they involved themselves in intrigue at the fort. In his middle-age, in the 'seventies, he was still hostile to the European who encroached upon his territory, and in his old age at the turn of the century he was accused, with how much justice cannot now be proved, of inciting Bushmen and detribalised or impoverished Hottentots to raid. He was always to be the "Black Captain", rather sinister, never trusted.

The quarrel between him and Oedasoa was soon made up, for Oedasoa was quick to discover that van Riebeeck only intended to make use of him.

When van Riebeeck called his Council to consider the form which his reply to Oedasoa should take the Council retreated from accepting his offer of an active alliance with the Company against the Capemen. He was "encamped with a force of thousands"

only half a day's march away, at the tail of the Leopardsberg (Tygerberg). It dawned upon the Council that in spite of the fact that the Saldanhas were now supposed to be at enmity with the Capemen the Saldanha tribesmen had made their way to the fort unarmed. It would be dangerous to accept this offer out of hand. A resolution expressed the decision to return a message expressing friendliness in general terms and the ability of the garrison to deal with the little tribes without help. The Council agreed that peace should not be made without referring to the Saldanhas, and "to make them even better disposed" the message added the assurance that: "We dared no longer refrain from destroying them, otherwise our God in Heaven whom Eva is also learning to know, but of Whom these robbers do not wish to know anything, would punish us, as the blood of His people which these rascals so murderously shed cried out to Him for vengeance."

Harwarden, who was to conduct the party bearing this message, was instructed to draw from Oedasoia "what his plans were", and to ask him to supply spies. If Oedasoia assumed the alliance to be concluded and requested the aid of the party in advancing upon the Capemen Harwarden was to evade the request and state that he had no orders to take such action.

"God grant they may be as sincere as we are," breathes van Riebeeck into the pages of his Journal.

Oedasoia and his councillors saw through the caution of this message and returned an equally defensive reply. The soldiers reported that they had found Oedasoia "a particularly quiet and civilised person". He expressed his satisfaction in van Riebeeck's assurance of friendship. As for his supplying spies to hunt down the Capemen, he recommended that the Commander "need not be in such a hurry". His wound from the lion was yet far from healed. His wife was ill. There was mortality amongst his cattle. He would come to the fort when he was able.

He sent six tribesmen down with the party and requested that Eva should be returned to him under their escort. No further soldiers should be sent to him "lest they fatigue themselves going to and fro too much".

Further deputations sent to him produced the same tactics of procrastination. It was doubtful how much of what Eva translated was a faithful interpretation of what he said. That it was coloured by her own notions of what it was expedient to say and by her own resentment against the Capemen is not impossible. Van Riebeeck came to mistrust her when presently she visited the fort again and cross-questioning found her contradicting herself.



Photograph by Arthur Pittott from Kalle

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Shewing the matting with which they covered the frame work of their huts and the method of guarding their cattle and sheep

Oedasoia also exhibited impatience with her when her efforts as go-between failed to preserve him from repeated visits from the soldiers.

On July 8th he sent her down attended by fifty of his tribesmen. He sent to announce his imminent departure. He was about to seek fresh pasture in the hope of mending the condition of his cattle. He conveyed his apologies for being unable adequately to make return for all the presents sent to him. He would be away a long time and would like a good store of tobacco.

Van Riebeeck tackled his men on the subject of spies, and they were persuaded to indicate from the fort the direction in which the Capemen lay. A quite useless gesture, as they well knew. The Capemen never lay in one place for more than a few hours. Oedasoia had said, they reported, that he could hardly believe that van Riebeeck was serious in his pursuit of war or he would have produced his own spies.

This intelligence, added to the fact that a few days before forty Saldanhas had come without Eva to the fort and pretended they could not understand a word, finally disillusioned van Riebeeck. Moreover, the bulk of these men were observed making their way, not home, but into the Bosbergen and through Constantia Nek. (Doubtless, they conveyed to the Capemen Oedasoia's permission to take refuge upon his territory.)

Van Riebeeck made a virtue of necessity. If Oedasoia's object, he instructed Eva to say, "did not extend further than, without discussing war matters, merely to conduct a peaceful trade with us we should be very well satisfied".

"Yes, Mr. van Riebeeck," the redoubtable sixteen-year-old assured him (in all probability arriving at last at exactly what Oedasoia had instructed her to tell him), "this Oedasoia desires to do, and with that, his people say, everything ends."

She made her farewells upon a sigh. She feared, she said, she might never see Dutch people again. "Mr. van Riebeeck, take care," she warned. "I shall not return for a long while. Your country will now be merrily full of war."

She was wrong. It was nearly over. Van Riebeeck sent for Herry again to make him act as a spy and to see if he could get out of him what Oedasoia was likely to be up to. Herry thought it hardly possible that Oedasoia would join the Capemen. Some vagabond Saldanhas may have joined them. This, indeed, was how Oedasoia later excused the incident when the men did not return home. It was difficult, Herry complained, to track people in wet weather.

Two days later a Chorachouqua was caught about the fishermen's hut at Salt River, "and by means of threats and otherwise" was made to consent to lead the way to the Capemen's camp. A ship was in the bay. With Herry and the Chorachouqua as guides van Riebeeck determined to search the country once more. He landed 180 soldiers to which he added 70 men from the garrison and the burgher militia. The force was to be led by the Fiscal Gabbema. The contingent firmly rejected the idea that van Riebeeck himself should lead it. His Journal has the following comment: "None the less, the Commander, drawing attention to the gravity of affairs . . . whether it would not be well if the Commander personally accompanied the force in order to create more fear among the enemy and rouse more courage among our men, as well as at all times to assist the aforesaid military officers with word and deed and continually to remind them of his purpose."

The answer was still "No".

The expedition had no success. Forty of the ship's soldiers turned back when they got as far as the Leopardsberg. Deserted camping places were found but no Hottentots. The wretched Chorachouqua though "tortured a little" could give no idea where his countrymen had got to, but the statement was at last extracted from him that Oedasoia had given Capemen and Chorachouquas permission to accompany him as far inland as they liked.

Evident, remarks van Riebeeck, Oedasoia deceived him, and temporised until the Capemen had been given time to hide themselves.

Not all, however, had gone. Doman had not headed the retreat. He was still at the Cape and a few diehards with him. He was to provide the last skirmish of the war and pay the price. In hiding to the farthest distance of the Peninsula three hovels of Watermen, old kitchen-boys and fuel-carriers of the fort, were to pay the price, too, but not quite in the same way.

A week after the party returned from searching the country a soldier was driving two beasts from Groote Schuur at Rondebosch to the fort. Five Hottentots led by Doman seized the animals. They were pursued by the fiscal and three other mounted men who caught up with them at Constantia Nek and surrounded them. The fiscal offered them quarter but the Hottentots knew too well what quarter would mean at the fort. They preferred to fight even the terrifying combination of man and horse. "Plainly," wrote van Riebeeck, "they would rather die than be captured." Four were shot, one of whom was Doman. Doman and two others were left for dead. (Doman was not dead, but when soldiers came

to cut off and bring in their heads he and the corpses had disappeared.) The fourth man the fiscal managed to get to the fort. The fifth, though seriously hurt by blows from the butt end of a gun, was seen to escape.

The fiscal's prisoner was one Eykeman. He was mortally wounded but "somewhat alive still". As he lay dying, an agony prolonged for three weeks, van Riebeeck subjected him to an inquisition upon the Capemen's reasons for attack. Eykeman "could speak Dutch fairly well". What he said appears in van Riebeeck's despatches of the 29th July.

"There was no reason except that they saw we kept in possession the best lands and grazed our cattle where theirs used to do, and that everywhere with houses and plantations we endeavoured to establish ourselves so permanently, as if we intended never to leave again, but to take permanent possession of this Cape land which belonged to them during all the centuries, for our sole use. Yea! to such an extent that their cattle could not come to drink at the fresh waters without going over cornlands, which we did not like them to do. Therefore, because it was their share of the earth they had decided to take our cattle, as they saw we were breaking the best lands and destroying the grass; and if this did not help, to burn the corn and the houses until we had been compelled to abandon everything."

Eykeman died on the 12th August. In order that none of the Hottentots should come to hear of it everyone was bidden to say that he had been taken to Robben Island. That had some truth, as van Riebeeck points out. "So as to have less trouble with the interment and other reasons besides," his weighted body was carried towards the island and cast into the sea.

Meanwhile, the Watermen had been found. In the course of questioning the dying Eykeman and the terrified Chorachouqua van Riebeeck heard that a party of Watermen lay in what the captives believed to be the Hout Bay valley. From there, declared one or other of the captives, they sallied forth to do mischief. Van Riebeeck accepted the statement out of hand. The quarrels of the various tribes in seeking to shift the blame which always occurred in the face of his accusations did not apparently occur to him and moderate his action. No attack or mischief of any kind had occurred since the fiscal's engagement on July 19th. The Watermen were nearly at Cape Point. He sent out Corporal Elias Giers to track them down. Giers "found the first traces of Hottentots and their dogs close to the seashore behind rocky mountains". He was behind the Schorberg. Following up the spoor he came upon "three reed huts". The dogs barked and alarmed the inmates.

These proved to number "13 [later the figure is given as 18] male adults with about as many women and children". They rushed out "naked and astonished" and apparently unarmed, for their arms were found in their huts. They fled to the bushes for cover. Giers recognised the men—they "used to be daily at the fort". He got them into conversation and soothed their fears, and was already beginning to advance towards them so "they they would soon have joined him and been captured without difficulty if a musket had not unexpectedly gone off when they were on their way to us". (That musket—was it some man's decent warning of treachery?)

The Watermen fled. "Our men seeing this did not desire to have a fruitless journey but fired at them, capturing their chief, fairly old, who used to be Herry's comrade, and killing two others. One of them was known to us as Siginman [Siginman, whom van Riebeeck had found 'very true' when he travelled with Harwarden]. Our men brought with them his upper lip as well as that of their chief, named Trosoa, because he refused to accompany us to the fort, and it was difficult to carry him over the mountains. He would otherwise have been a fine mate chained to Herry. [Herry was not chained.] The third [evidently in flight, for he was 'killed from behind'], after having received his death wound had fallen down the precipitous mountain to the bottom, so we could not come near him, and hence we were unable to bring any part of his body as evidence."

Thus the corporal's report. Van Riebeeck took his word for it, and paid the party out in full: 60 gulden for the three kills, for Trosoa made the third. They had killed him also for the blood-money.

Weaponless, those who escaped had the spirit to follow the soldiers, keeping out of gun-range (or as clever as the Capemen, perhaps, at "dodging the bullets"), hampering the men's progress, rolling down "heavy stones which as they fell loosened others".

7

On August 2nd, four days after the Giers episode, the Council of Policy met and "after long deliberation" planned to erect the historic hedge round the settlement, as "after all, the principal object was to prevent the cattle from being driven off".

During the same day van Riebeeck's gardener from Bosheuvel brought him a report that five Hottentots had peacefully spoken with him, but before he could get at what they wanted two freemen rushed out of their houses with guns and the Hottentots fled. (They turned out later to be Watermen; survivors of Giers's onslaught. They wanted one of the little flags which gave safe conduct to the fort.)

Van Riebeeck again sat in Council. "The general opinion," was expressed "that these Hottentots had no evil intention as they so exposed themselves . . . evidently they would much have liked to speak with us about peace and goodwill."

A proclamation followed: People were "admonished everywhere to show unarmed Hottentots every sign of friendship in order thus to get them into our hands, promising for every such capture the same reward as if such native had been made prisoner of war. But if more than one be captured in this manner and be brought to the fort begging for peace only half the reward shall be given for the rest. The Almighty God grant that everything may turn out for the best in accordance with our rising hopes and wishes."

Nothing happened. For nearly seven weeks, silence. Hottentots were seen hovering about but could not be come by. Then on the 20th September the flag of the watch-house Uytijkjck was seen to be signalling. Up and down went the flag. Hottentots were approaching.

By now, in response at last to van Riebeeck's alarming reports of Hottentot aggression Batavia had sent him Javanese ponies, and he had formed the Mounted Guard. Augmented by footmen the guards were sent out to meet the Hottentots. It was Eva, waving her little flag, and surrounded by her usual escort. Oedasoa had sent her to offer terms of peace for the Capemen. He begged that van Riebeeck would "this once forgive the poor wretches". Doman could not come to plead for his tribe. He was too injured. (He was hit through the shoulder-blade, the bullet passing through his chest, his arm rendered useless.) They offered to return all the raided cattle which they had not eaten, and Oedasoa would make up the rest.

Van Riebeeck received this intelligence without enthusiasm. "They ought," he said, "to offer us twice as much as they robbed us of." However, he would consider discussing terms of peace with the Capemen since it was Oedasoa who requested it, "but certainly not on their account". Some of the principal men might come to the fort accompanied by Eva.

Eva left the fort with her escort. In passing the watch-house Duighoop they found it deserted save for the black wife of the freeman who was in charge of it. They helped themselves to an axe and a pair of tongs, and beat the woman when she yelled. Eva, alas, did nothing to help, but "slapping her buttock passed on".

Nothing more is heard of Oedasoa or of Eva until December.

The Watermen, encouraged by the news that Oedasoahad interceded for the Capemen, ventured to accost another freeman and got their little flag. Meanwhile, Herry was brought forth again from durance "and placed behind a thin partition to find out if they told lies "

They received a cold reception and a close shave from worse. They pleaded that they were not to blame for the war. Doman and his Capemen were responsible for that, which indeed was true. They wanted to be allowed to bring their huts and their families round the fort again, and as before they would carry fuel for the cooks and catch fish for the garrison. "They were poor and had no cattle nor any wealth "

Van Riebeeck asked them where the Capemen were, and whether they would go in search of them. They had heard, they said, that the Capemen were under Oedasoah's protection, and they could not very well search for them "in a hurry", but doubtless the Capemen would come near the fort in time, and then peace could be discussed.

Van Riebeeck adjourned the session, drew Herry from hiding and Herry declared that the men were all his people and had spoken the truth. The boat took him back to Robben Island. Van Riebeeck planned to call the Council tomorrow. "It will be decided what to do with these nine Hottentots—whether to let them go or detain them." He records the Council's deliberations as follows:

That to seize persons "who voluntarily offer themselves to make peace" is contrary to all justice, whereas if we wink at what they have done the Saldanhas will have more confidence, and thus we may find in due course a better opportunity for proper revenge, or taking such other steps as may be found most beneficial for the Company and the public welfare."

So it was that peace descended upon the Watermen. They brought their huts and families round the fort again, much to the fort's convenience, and for a little food, tobacco, and a sup of arrack fetched the fuel and washed the dishes, carried messages which they bore swiftly and faithfully, and, alas, were engaged once more in mischief by the less reputable members of the community.

The only bright patch which appeared upon the unhappy scene was provided, after all, by Herry. He escaped, bearing with him his fellow captive, the Chorachouqua, from Robben Island.

Anyone familiar with the passage from Robben Island to the mainland will appreciate the desperate bravery which risked life "in a boat so leaky . . . they must certainly have been drowned

. . . in the surf . . . which runs very high in seven or eight breakers. . . . At the time a strong westerly wind was blowing which gave them a lee shore. . . ." Thus the Journal.

But Herry did not drown. Soldiers sent along the coast found his cranky little skiff pulled high up on the beach a day and a half's journey from the fort towards Saldanha Bay. Herry appears to have taken refuge with the Chainouquas for a time, and later joined the others among the Saldanha kraals. They were all there—Doman and Gogosa and their Capemen. (The Gorachouquas were with Gonnema.) They were embarrassing Oedaso. Any moment there might be soldiers on their track. He was weary of the whole business, yet he could not turn them away.

8

In December, when the Saldanhas were preparing to make their annual move from the dry lands to better pasturage, Oedaso sent Eva back to the fort. He sent her not with tribesmen but in the station's yacht from Saldanha Bay.

What it meant as between Eva and the Saldanhas cannot be known. Her sister had not found her a husband, or not one who stayed the course. Doubtless, Eva was now too sophisticated a young thing for any honest Saldanha, and bored the other woman by her airs of superiority. She herself may have hungered for the comparative flesh-pots of the fort.

If Oedaso had hoped she could work miracles of persuasion upon van Riebeeck it had been in vain. He instructed her to say, in effect, that he washed his hands of the whole business. He was about to travel far inland and did not wish the Capemen to accompany him. He had advised them to make what peace they could with the Dutch before they were wiped out.

Eva resumed her European clothes and went back to her old duties. Van Riebeeck, before the month was out, had his hands full of other matters. The Scottish surgeon of the hospital discovered, and reported in time, a plot to seize the *Erasmus*, a yacht lying at anchor in the bay. The plot was hatched by a small group of men, Scots, English, and other personnel of the yacht, and local men.

Up in Saldanha the stranded Capemen sat on their haunches and consulted with one another, and were greatly afraid. No one dared to go to the fort in person. He might be tricked and imprisoned. At last they took their trouble to the freemen fishermen—the Saldanha traders who with their two boats, the *Penguin* and the *Sea-lion*, plied back and forth Saldanha Bay and Table

Bay with salted fish, seal meat and train-oil, supplying the Company.

Nearly every day Capemen visited the fishermen—hovered about while Doman and Herry talked to the fishermen, trying to make a plan. The fishermen agreed to carry a message to the fort next time they sailed down. The Capemen managed to collect twenty sheep as a peace-offering from some laggards of Oedaso's people still about, and the fishermen took the sheep on board. On January 18th they brought the message to the Commander.

Actually there were two messages: one from Gogosa on behalf of his tribesmen, and one from Herry on his own behalf. Gogosa said that they had heard how the Watermen were tolerated at the fort again. If that meant the Commander's anger was appeased would he send a letter by a Waterman that they might be certain they could come in safety to talk with him? Then they could be sure he was no longer angry, and that he knew now how they came to make war. It was "only because everywhere the Dutch put the best grazing under the plough, and the Hottentots thought they could prevent it by taking the oxen which did the work. . . . Seeing now that it was impossible to expel the Dutch from the Cape they desired to make peace and live as before."

Herry's message asked to be allowed to come and live near the fort again with his family, and among his people. He promised to obtain supplies of cattle from the Chainouquas. . . .

There was just one thing more. The supplicants wanted, even if a Waterman came, further assurance that the letter was *bona fide*. Besides van Riebeeck's signature they wished it to be signed by the fiscal and the Secunde.

The letter was sent, fully signed, and a Waterman with it. But it frightened them again. It talked of conditions before peace could be discussed, and so forth. Its spirit, they thought, made approach to the fort dangerous after all. Unhappily, they dithered. What to do next?

It was Remajenne and "two others" who stopped the rot. As van Riebeeck put it: "Without our knowledge and at their own risk" they marched off to Saldanha and had a chat with their friends. Doubtless they were now impatient of a situation which deprived the settlement of handy men, checked the flow of illicit cattle, and created unnecessary animosity which might flare up again and make their homes unsafe.

They brought back three Capemen supported by six sheep and a lean cow, and took them to the fort. Any argument about this upon van Riebeeck's part was saved by the presence of the

Commissioner Pieter Sterthemius who had just arrived with the return fleet. He exhorted Remajenne to carry on with the good work. He himself signed a further document and entrusted it to Remajenne. On March 20th Remajenne returned to the fort with Doman, Gogosa's three sons, Herry, and thirty Capemen. They brought ten head of cattle and ten sheep as a peace-offering. Sterthemius presented Remajenne with 25 rixdollars (£5).

It was arranged that the Capemen should be allowed "freely and unhindered to return to their camp behind and beyond the Bosheuvel, when further negotiations would take place".

It was unfortunate that Sterthemius could not remain long enough to complete the business, but there could be no question of detaining the fleet. He left with a grave impression of affairs in general. This was the year when the fleet's sailing was attended by a riot of such dimensions that the sailors tore up what they wanted in the Company's garden, cared not what damage they did; called boldly in the streets for stowaways to join them, offering violence to any who withstood them, and whole families were packed away. Van Riebeeck's despatches, already on board, took no account of this disturbance. The fiscal and his men searched the ships and recovered fifteen stowaways, but the fleet would not await the completion of his task, and the bulk of them were to get away. A breeze sprang up and it set its sails for home. Sterthemius had already heard of the tales of hard life and hard government from stowaways discovered in his flagship, and as van Riebeeck stood beside him to bid him farewell he observed: "I perceive you may expose yourself to personal danger." He advised that the freemen "should not be bound down so narrowly".

Sterthemius gone, the Capemen did not immediately avail themselves of permission to occupy such of their pasturage as was left to them. They encamped round the Tygerberg which offered an easier retreat if negotiations miscarried. Herry betook himself to the Chainouquas.

In his despatches carried by the fleet van Riebeeck reassures the Directorate as follows: "In short, Sirs, all the troubles and difficulties have, thank God, passed by and are over, and everything is once more brought to a good appearance." He wrote without reckoning upon his own powers to renew confusion.

In this place, and before we attend the Capemen in their final efforts to come to terms with van Riebeeck, we may set down one or two extracts from van Riebeeck's records which further clarify what extent of hindrance to settlement existence the Capemen's rising made at the time of hostilities. The records are quoted from

his despatch to Batavia in January 1660 and from his despatch to the Directorate in March 1660.

For Batavia he describes Corporal Giers's attack upon the three reed huts as "a whole encampment of robbers disturbed and dispersed", and the Watermen as "beachrangers and brigands".

(In passing, we may record the death of Corporal Giers just a year after the above exploit. He was drowned in the Liesbeeck and his horse with him. Van Riebeeck confesses in his Journal that Giers was "rather intoxicated". "We lost," he adds, "a gallant soldier, and in the horse 200 reals as she was the best Cape mare with foal." Giers was Swede of Stockholm.)

Of the farms he observes in his Journal that four have been "ruined" by the Hottentots. In his despatches these become five. He does not explain that "ruin" consisted in the abduction among other cattle of plough oxen, and the temporary slowing up of a farm work on farms thus affected. He was able to distribute more oxen. Only one man is recorded later as having had to return to the Company's service for a term on account of loss sustained at the hand of the Huguenot: Jan Reyniers, who returned to his sail-making, was then given charge of one of the station's boats, and subsequently became freeman again, as he had been promised he should if he wished it. It seems more probable that it was not irrecoverable loss, but a change of mind which occurred to Reyniers when many other men were dubious about the prospects of farming under the Company.

In actual fact, after the initial scare when the freeman Simon in 't Veld lost his life, and married men rushed their wives to the fort for protection, fearing attacks upon their homes, agriculture proceeded much as usual. In June van Riebeeck was out on the lands and finds "some ploughing, and others who had lost their cattle digging in order to raise garden fruit this season instead of corn." (The Hottentots' particular aim was to seize plough-oxen.) In August van Riebeeck's vineyards and the Company's are being pruned. (The freemen had not yet engaged themselves in viticulture.) He had at this time to quell insubordination among the soldiers who were reluctant to build the palisading round the freemen's farms. The watch-houses Uitkijk and Keert de Koe are building without any interference. He found time to arrange for the "town" burghers to engage in retail trade.

All this hardly presents a scene of chaos.

Of Oedaso's reluctance to supply spies he wrote, and justified any suspicion Oedaso may have had of the worst:

"We therefore could not induce any of his people to conduct us to the Capemen whom we might treat according to our fancy, kill those whom we caught, or employ them as slaves, or send them away, deport them as we liked."

In the despatch to Batavia he writes of the crop sown in the ploughing season of '59:

"God the Lord has pleased to grant the farmers such good blessing that we are certain we shall thresh a third more grain than last year."

And again: "We shall certainly have, notwithstanding the troubles caused by the war, not much less from the Company's fields alone than the total of the Company's fields and the freemen's together of the previous harvest."

Early in April 1660 forty Capemen as representatives of their tribe appeared at the fort formally to make peace, and in May the Chorachouquas presented themselves for the same purpose. Herry and Doman acted as spokesmen for both tribes.

With the Capemen it was simply a case of each side reiterating the old arguments. The Capemen "firmly maintained their grievances that we had . . . taken their lands . . . which had been their property for centuries. . . . They asked whether they would be allowed to do the same sort of thing if they came to Holland. . . . Have we then no cause to prevent you from obtaining cattle, as having much you cover our pastures with it? And if you say the land is not big enough for us both who ought in justice to retire—the real owner or the foreign usurper?"

Van Riebeeck assured them that they had taken the cattle "unjustly and without any reason, that accordingly their country, having been fairly won by the sword in a defensive war, had fallen to us, and that we intended to keep it".

They tried once more, in complaint that the people residing in the country caused them annoyance by "now and then robbing them of a sheep, calf, etc., and by taking their beads and armlets from their ears and arms and giving these to their slaves; also by beating and thumping them, etc." "There is some truth in this," confesses van Riebeeck, "without the Commander exactly being aware of it."

Here the argument for the defence was firmly closed; the peace treaty assumed; presents, food and liquor distributed, so "that all became jolly drunk, so that if we had so wished it we might have kept them in our power. For many weighty reasons, however, we could not decide to do this. . . ."

With his last breath of Cape air van Riebeeck would be arguing with the Capemen, and as stubbornly they would refuse him his extortionate demands of cattle for the ships.

Peace with the Chorachouquas was more easily ratified. Herry and Doman repeated the same argument, which van Riebeeck interrupted with a flat refusal to hear any more of it. They "were told this had been refused last time and therefore they were not at liberty to talk on the subject any longer". The Chorachouquas did not press the matter. "They did not mind so much about the Cape pastures." Their constant habitat was not the Cape Peninsula. They had their old grazing round the Leopardsberg.

The following day, Ascension Day, "after the sermon . . . a tub filled with a mixture of arrack and brandy was set open in the middle of the square within the fort, with a small sailor's cup in it, out of which they drank themselves so drunk that one beheld them making the strangest antics in the world . . . the Chief excepted, however, who conducted himself fairly well . . . they appeared . . . to be holding quite a triumph of peace".

On June 18th van Riebeeck wrote to Batavia: "The fury of the Hottentot war is, thank God, not only over but we have made a new peace with all our late enemies." None the less, he expresses himself as sensitive to the fact that he has cause to be on his guard.

Though Doman and Herry left the fort and Oedasoa sent ten of his men to insist that Eva should return with them, and the Capemen retreated to Oedasoa and the Gorachouquas to Gonnema, nothing alarming happened. No news of any disturbance reached him. On the contrary, the news which did reach him on the following Sunday (Sunday appears to have been van Riebeeck's least inspired day of the week) was of Remajenne, happily disporting himself among the Chorachouquas. "As often before", he was illicitly cattle dealing, and brought his animals home after dark. A French ship was in the bay, and he was selling to the crew as well as to Dutch ships and to his fellow burghers.

His trial produced some startling revelations. Not only Remajenne but Jacob Cloete, Hans Ras, Caspar Brinkman, and "Jan" the freeman hunter were all implicated. Nor was it probable that these men totalled the number of culprits. To barter, to fatten, to elude the Company and to sell under the rose at a decent price was the quickest way to make money. Nothing would cure them now of that programme.

Remajenne employed Hottentots in the business of smuggling. They carried bags of meat to the ships in their fleet and silent fashion. He would hide meat under a load of fuel in his waggon and carry it to the ships under the noses of the guard. He paid the Hottentots six times as much for a beast as van Riebeeck gave for it, and making use of his old trade as coppersmith, himself forged the copper chains which van Riebeeck supposed they could get only

at the fort. Four or five hundred sheep had passed through his hands in this way. Twice during the "war" he had visited the Capemen and bartered for cattle. "He had also," the charge reads, "much knowledge of the conspirators last year on the fort and the yacht *Erasmus*, the said conspirators having received the best assistance from him and frequented his house the most. . . ."

The reader holds his breath wondering what catastrophe must befall this man and his accomplices. Was "to lay their heads in their laps" to be more than a figure of speech this time? Comparatively nothing happened. Remajenne was fined 20 reals (£1 11s. 8d.) and the animals he had actually been caught with were confiscated. The other freemen were declared not guilty, as "having been seduced by Remajenne". Three Hottentots caught with Remajenne were discharged with the warning that "our people" had received orders to kill them if found on "forbidden paths". (That is to say, paths other than the one through the settlement to which Hottentots had been bidden to confine themselves.)

The two burgher councillors had been invited to sit with the Political Council in judgment upon this case, in accordance with Goens's order that they were to do so when burgher cases were tried. One of them was Mostert. He is likely to have brought some horse-sense to bear upon the situation. He had plenty of it.

There can be no accounting for van Riebeeck's leniency unless he had come to realise that he was facing the collapse of his authority. Violent action might have roused the freeman community to rebellion. Forty-two stowaways were in Holland now, and he was yet to hear what the Directorate thought of their tales. The next Commissioner might have a freeman petition to deal with. If he pondered upon these things he could not have been more wise. The Directorate was this month in the process of writing to him a letter which must have caused him to "stamp his foot" as vigorously as Adam Tas tells us Willem Adriaan van der Stel did on a similar occasion. In this letter the Directors inform him that they will now grant his request to be transferred, but do not see fit to promote him. They are not sending the stowaways back to him. (Indeed, all but three escaped in Holland and the Directorate made no move to trace them.) They consider also that the plot to seize the *Erasmus* "is not a sign of great contentment among the people". Of the Hottentot they describe themselves as having been anxious "for a long while, especially since the banishment of Herry and the seizure of his cattle. It is not strange," they point out mildly, "or unreasonable that these natives

show their resentment because we have appropriated to ourselves the lands which they had occupied for centuries with their cattle, and excluded them from the same. We would therefore be pleased and agreeable if we could buy the country from them, or afford them some other satisfaction for it."

(To this van Riebeeck was to reply in May 1661: "Regarding your anxiety about Herry neither the Capemen nor the others have taken his condition so much to heart as to declare war on us for that. They did so for being abused by our common people . . ." (Here he discovers his knowledge of Reyniers's treatment of Gogosa and of other instances of rough usage.) "Therefore, my lords, it is not our impatience but that of the aforesaid freemen . . . but the Capemen started it by stealing cattle. . . ." He himself, he explains, regards the Hottentots as having ceded lands in payment for cattle stolen, therefore "the Company has, so to say, bought them and need not think of any other payment except always treating and entertaining them well and kindly". Up to now, he says in effect, this has been observed "in order to accustom them more and more to us, and thus remove the memory of their vile treatment by the common people, which, as before, continually recurring causes many unpleasant squabbles and troubles which require every time to be smoothed over in a civil way. . . . Through intercourse with our nation they are becoming more subtle in evil-doing".

He is constrained also to explain the freemen's disinclination to grow corn, and incidentally to pay off their debts thereby. The fact is that little land is fit for cornland. The country "can produce enough to feed the garrison but not enough if the freemen are to have abundant supply." There was not, for instance, a sufficiently abundant supply for them to be allowed to retain corn enough to make bread for sale, in order to eke out an extra penny or two, which they had presumptuously assumed was their right.

The Commissioner Frisius, who had arrived with the return fleet of the previous March, leaves us in his report the following picture of affairs. He states that there were only 300 morgen of cultivable land, and only two plots left available for farmers. All the best pasturage is ploughed up, and the cattle given extra feed. Annual supplies of rice must continue to augment the local supply of grain. "Not as much corn will be raised annually as they [the freemen] will require for their own sustenance." Seventy-five morgen of land belonged to the Company. Seventy morgen was the Commander's own property. (Van Riebeeck had two farms: one on the Bosheuvel and one behind the Lion which he called "Uitwijck".) The farmers owned the remaining 105 morgen singly or in partnership. The total number of freemen,

Town burghers (artisans), farmers, and European farm-hands (knechts) was 73. There were 12 women and 20 children. The freemen owned 29 slaves between them. Elsewhere we are informed that van Riebeeck owned 14.

9

In spite of Directorate criticism and the knowledge of his unpopularity van Riebeeck experienced some satisfaction during the last two years of his command. The Capemen kept out of mischief and Chainouqua cattle came in at a great rate. The Chainouqua chief, Sousoa, himself visited the fort on several occasions ("an elderly man . . . dressed in beautiful skins . . . who did not allow himself to be made drunk"), the first time in September '60, when the wives and children of his tribesmen came into the settlement to see what Europeans looked like, and "none knew how to show us sufficient friendship".

By whatever means he established the cattle trade and paved the way for the Company's extension beyond Hottentots Holland.

The most interesting occurrence, however, was that he extended exploration northwards and made contact with the Namaquas, and in concluding this narrative we cannot omit a brief description of this penetration into further Hottentot domains. It was an achievement of exploration even if the adventure was in his time, and for long after, abortive of all else.

It began with Sousoa's first visit which re-aroused van Riebeeck's desire to discover Monomotapa. There was much talk of Chobonas who lived north of the Chainouquas and Hessaquas and whom van Riebeeck believed to be Monomotapans, or in direct touch with Monomotapans. He showed Sousoa gold, diamonds and other precious stones, and was enormously encouraged when Sousoa recognised gold and diamonds.

He sent out four expeditions, the first in the November following Sousoa's initial visit. The first expedition was commanded by Jan Dankaert of Nynoven, a comparative newcomer to the garrison, with Peter van Meerhoff, the junior surgeon, as second in command. Doman went as interpreter. They were away just over two months. (Hottentots befriended two men suffering from dysentery who had to turn back.) Bushmen guides led them round the tail end of the Drakensberg. They had tried to get over the Hottentots Holland range to reach the Chainouquas, but Doman declared he could not find the way. They discovered the Oliphants River and travelled on to the district now known as

Clanwilliam. From there they saw the distant camp-fires or veld burning of the Namaquas, but their guides warned them not to proceed.

Van Riebeeck considered this journey to be "practically barren of results" save that both Hottentots and Bushmen had treated the men well, "the road therefore is safe enough".

He sent out the second party ten days after the return of the first with Corporal Cruijthoff as leader and Meerhoff as second. They were instructed to follow up the sight of the Namaqua fires and find the tribe. Bushmen guides warned them not to proceed, but they climbed the Cedarberg and sighted Namaquas, standing above them; tall fellows armed with assegai, bow and arrows, and shield. Meerhoff accomplished a meeting next day, and became the hero of the expedition. He taught the Namaquas to smoke and was a guest of the chief for two days. The chief's name was Akembi—a "giant", sixty to seventy years old. The skins he wore were "soft as cloth" and gorgeously adorned with copper beads. Chains of copper hung round his neck and his apron was of ivory. When he spoke he did so in "well-considered words".

(The Encyclopædia, by the way, tells us that the Hottentot language "in its grammatical structure is beautiful and regular".)

Akembi excused himself from accepting an invitation to visit the fort. He was about to take the field to chastise the "Brigoudys", vassals of his who had robbed him, and also had to compose certain differences with the Saldanhas of concern to the Charichuriquas. With the Saldanhas he was persuaded to promise peace if the Company could arrange it.

Van Riebeeck was delighted with this success. He was more than ever convinced that the Namaquas had contact with the Monomotapans, and wished that at all costs Akembi should be brought to visit the fort, not less because Oedasoia was exhibiting every sign of discomfort at this approach to his enemy. With not a little disgust he discouraged van Riebeeck's idea that the Namaquas were a superior people, and declared that they were just Hottentots like the rest of them. The prospect of their descending upon the Cape made him shudder. He frightened himself into talking of an alliance again. (Incidentally, upon one of his visits to expound his apprehensions he brought with him his daughter Namies, "a beautiful, well-shaped girl". Grevenbroek gives us a description of Hottentot beauty: "Eyes beautifully black and as clear and pure as those of a hawk . . . flattened noses, teeth clean and white . . . well-shaped hands and long fingers, shapely legs . . . pretty, small feet.")

Van Riebeeck decided that it was very desirable to make peace between the Saldanhas and the Namaquas (who, it appeared, were traditional enemies), if there were not to be complications when Akembi accepted his invitation to the fort. With this object in view he sent off on the 12th March, the day following the return of the men, a third expedition, with Meerhoff in command. Meerhoff failed to find Akembi again; he was still in the field. But he had left a message with the Great Charichuriquas to say that if men from the fort appeared again they might on his behalf ratify a peace with the Saldanhas. He would be back with the Great Charichuriquas at the beginning of the dry season, and would then arrange to receive emissaries from the fort and to visit the Commander.

At the beginning of the dry season, November 1661, Sergeant Pieter Everaart, Meerhoff and ten men set out upon the fourth journey. Akembi failed to keep the rendezvous. It was said afterwards that Oedaso had warned him against the Dutch.

Van Riebeeck left the Cape on Sunday, 7th May, 1662.

An attempt to renew his approaches to the Namaqua in the following October also failed and might easily have ended in disaster. Before the party, led by Pieter Cruijthoff, left the fort Hottentots brought warning that the Namaqua resented the intrusion of soldiers into the interior, and for the first time travellers were to suffer. The men reached the Oliphants River and came into contact with Namaqua tribesmen who refused to guide them farther, and warned them of attack if they persisted. Three days later, while the men were sleeping round their camp fire, four of them were wounded with assegais, fortunately not seriously. It is possible that the actual deed was committed by Bushmen instigated by Namaquas.

Next day the party came upon some Bushmen huts. They were found to contain only women and children. Cruijthoff was for massacring the lot in revenge, but his fellows restrained him, and thereby doubtless saved all their lives. A sixth expedition towards the Namaquas, and in the hope of finding Monomotapa, led by Jonas de la Guerre and Meerhoff went out in October '63 and returned in January '64. The men increased the disturbance of exploration to the mouth of the Oliphants River, but it led to nothing more.

Not very long, however, were even the Namaquas to live in their pride. In December 1681 a party of them, through the embassy of Claas the Chainouqua, were persuaded to visit the fort and to carry back to their chief a staff of office stamped with the

Company's insignia. In '83 Ensign Olof Bergh was sent out to visit them on an elaborately equipped bartering expedition. "The Dutchmen at the Cape are masters," they told him, "but the Namaquas are masters here." A vain boast; the die was cast. And in 1689 Sergeant Schrijver travelled eastward as far as the district of Aberdeen. The aboriginal at the toe of the African continent, thousands upon thousands of Hottentots scattered over this vast area, was to dwindle and nearly pass in an incredibly short space of time.

In his "Instructions" which van Riebeeck left for his successor—it was customary for a retiring Commander of the Company to leave a report for his successor and it was thus termed—he gives an account of the various tribes, and says of the Watermen:

"They maintain themselves without the least cattle . . . by fishing on the rocks . . . thus adding considerably to the food supply, and furnishing a great deal of accommodation to the Company's people and the freemen, and also rendering good service by washing, cleaning, scouring, and fetching fuel, and doing other kinds of housework. Some of them have even placed their little daughters dressed after our fashion in the service of the married . . . the Dutch language is beginning to strike such deep roots in old and young that nothing private can any longer be spoken before them."

This was the picture which in a few generations was to apply to what was left of the whole race of Hottentots within the jurisdiction of the Company. On the veld, as the trekkers advanced, the emphasis would be upon field work. The Directorate whose earlier gestures had been humane were persuaded after van Riebeeck's departure that the Hottentots deserved less protection, or that the course of depredation was no more violent than was usual when the aboriginal of any country went down before the European invader. Two widespread epidemics of smallpox took great toll of the Hottentots but these were far enough apart for recovery had not the pressure of European occupation prevented it. Some tribes, or sections of tribes, including numbers of bastards later on to cause mischief, migrated northward out of the territories of the colony to the Orange River. The Company came again totally to prohibit barter with the Hottentots, and subsequently with the Bantu. The Governors Tulbagh and Plettenberg in later years threatened even the death penalty in aggravated cases of transgression, but transgression went on.

The Commissary Cnoll who, early in the 18th century journeyed eastward inland reported the Hessaquas as having only 2,000 sheep and about 50 to 60 head of cattle, and they could always be persuaded to barter what they had for strong drink. In the Commissary de Mist's report at the beginning of the 19th century we read that there "are only some 4,000 Hottentots scattered about the country". Barrow, writing a few years earlier, tells us of the Namaquas that since settlers approached their territory they have "dwindled away to four hordes which are not very numerous, and which own, perhaps, 3,000 sheep". In the youngest district of Graaff-Reinet, an extensive territory where settlers began to establish themselves about twenty years before, there was left "not a single horde of independent Hottentots".

The following biographical note may interest readers:

Of the Hottentot principals who took part in the events describing the first impact of the Hottentot with the European settler, Doman died in December '63, probably having never recovered altogether from his wound. The Journal provides his epitaph: "He was always a mischievous and malicious man against the Company." Herry died about the same time, an old man. Of the aged Gogosa we hear no more; only of his son Schacher, who was still living and active at the turn of the century. Sousoa died early in '64. His son sold his territory for a few beads, tobacco, copper, and drink in '72. Oedasoia lived until 1689, diplomatically peaceful to the end. Eva, the little Hottentot Pocohomtas, who learned to speak such fluent Dutch and "fair Portuguese", came to a bad end. We hear little of her during the last two years of van Riebeeck's Journal. In November '63 we hear that she had already borne two children for a European. We are surprised to hear that she was not baptised until '62, though we hear of her being taught prayers in her girlhood, and of hopes that she would teach them to her people. Wagenaar, van Riebeeck's successor, mentions her as "our interpreter", but his tone is chill. He judges her as he found her—erratic in behaviour, apt to absent herself from the fort upon flimsy excuse, and at least upon one occasion found at the house of a freeman and his wife, both bad characters. They were also engaged in illicit barter, and doubtless Eva served them, in that. In June '64, with the blessing of a passing Commissioner who left money for the wedding breakfast, she was married to Meerhoff with whom she had travelled on various expeditions. In May '65 Meerhoff was appointed superintendent of Robben Island. In June '67 he was sent on a voyage to Madagascar and perished there. Eva's history became one of pro-

gressive degeneration. Meerhoff appears to have left her and her three children unprovided for. The Commander saw that she had a roof over her head; sent her now and then to Robben Island in an attempt to reform her, but it was too late, and there were too many to help her on the downward path. Eva was lost when her gifts caused her to be trained as a hybrid. She died in July '74. Goske, who was in command of the station at the time, appears to have had some sense of her calamity. He gave her Christian burial in the little church of the new Castle. There her little ghost of happier days still haunts, perhaps, the council chamber of the great.

DIARY OF
ADAM TAS

DIARY OF ADAM TAS

Adam Tas was a Hollander who migrated to the Cape at the end of the 17th century. In June 1703 he married a widow, Mrs. Elizabeth Grimpe, sister of "brother van Brakel", who brought him a good farm in the Stellenbosch district. There we find him exactly two years later when the diary begins. He was then about 38. He acted as secretary to the "Brotherhood" of rebels and the diary is greatly taken up with his activities in this capacity.

Out of a total of some 550 burghers 63 signed the petition of whom 31 were French Huguenots. Doubtless the latter was a significant factor in the Company's visiting its extreme displeasure upon Willem Adriaan van der Stel, for Holland was at war with France. From whatever cause, Willem Adriaan had failed to keep the peace upon the Cape station. The times were dangerous. The community of Frenchmen among the burghers were fresh blood and foreign blood which had invigorated their ranks; men who were near enough to their love of country to constitute a danger were the burghers to become violently antagonistic to the Company's rule. At intervals all through the years of settlement French ships had visited Table Bay, and had been unwelcome visitors even in times of peace. Letters might pass to foreign ships far more mischievous than the letters of complaint which the "Brotherhood" so easily smuggled aboard the Company's own ships. Prudence, therefore, directed that a rebellion at the Cape, even if it by no means embraced the whole settlement, required discreet handling.

Adam Tas lost his wife in 1714, and in November 1717 he married again. He died in June 1722.

His original diary is lost. Transcripts were made at the Secretariat by the order of the Governor Willem Adriaan van der Stel for the purpose of defending his own case. One copy reposes in the Archives Library at The Hague, the other in the South African Library at the Cape. The present translation has been made from the late Professor Fouché's printed text in order to avoid undue handling of the original copy at the Cape, though by the courtesy of the Trustees of the South African Library this has also been examined. I have to acknowledge my indebtedness to the late Professor Fouché for the convenience of using the text of his book *Het Dagboek van Adam Tas*.

JUNE 1705

Shortly after midday Hans the smith, Hans Conterman [a German] and his good wife arrived here. He sent three Hottentots ahead of him with some goods which Mr. Hans Jacob aforesaid brought for us yesterday from the Cape. First of all he handed me a letter from sister Tas, together with a ream of paper from Mr. Ijsbrand Vincent transmitted by Mr. Fredrik Paran; and also the book concerning the exploits of the brothers Cornelis and Jan de Wit, and eleven parts of the Boeksalen [monthly pamphlets] lent to Mr. Starrenburg [landdrost of the Stellenbosch district] and afterwards to Mr. Putten [Warehouse Master]. Furthermore, 5 pairs of women's and 2 pairs of men's stockings, sent to us by Mother from the Fatherland; two packets of powder, the book of sermons by Mr. Balthazar Becker of bless'd memory, and a jar of 8 caddies of tea bought for us by Mr. Kina [clerk in the Pay Office]; also three earthenware measures of gin from Mr. Pfeiffer [burgher wine lessee], as also 6 lbs. hops from the same but without a chitty [chit]. 'Tis good enough [courtesy] for the farmers. Lastly, a letter from Mr. Kina, writing to me that the ships *Unie* and *Zandhorst* were come to anchor in Table Bay on the 11th instant, and that the latter was fully laden with timber for the Cape. Furthermore was the ship *Berkenrode*, and another *Zeeuw* also about to come in. He writes further of being absented for a time from the counting-house through a damned commission laid on his neck to be present at the unlading of the goods from out the ships. He writes to me also that the third mate, David Breuwer of Delft, had given himself in marriage. Lastly is made known to me that Hendrik ten Damme was lately become bookkeeper at f30 and absolute cashier, and that within five years' time; whereto was added, if that so continue he may well become Governor anon, for, as it appears, his fortune in this kingdom be firmly establish'd, etc.

After Hans the smith had been here awhile with his good wife, the wife had drunk a sup of tea, etc., and we had consumed together a few glasses of wine and some pipes of tobacco they stroll'd home. Among other things am told that Mrs. Selijns has brought a son into the world, and also that she is united again with her husband and that they now live together. Whether this will long endure time will tell.

SUNDAY 14TH

This morning overcast, with rain. Last night it rained bravely, being now bless'd weather, for which we owe God gratitude. Today have not been to church because Mr. Bek ministered this day at Drakenstein. It has been showery today, and sometimes hail with it. I am told that Mr. Bek did not preach this day at Drakenstein for that it rained too much. The clerical cronies in this country be uncommonly set on their ease.

MONDAY 15TH

This morning overcast; it rained also this forenoon more or less. This day made progress with plowing again. Also dung ridden into the new garden and straw brought into the pens. This afternoon I stroll'd to Stellenbosch to discover of Hans the smith what day he would drive to the Cape, since I am minded to drive with him. He told me he is resolved to drive thither on Wednesday morning provided it be suitable weather. From thence I walked to Mr. Mahieu's house [sick-comforter] where was Mr. Bek. Gammer van den Brink also arrived there. While smoaking a pipe of tobacco I was told that yesterday afternoon in front of the shoemaker Jacobus's house a war broke out. Above-mentioned scum, Jan cobbler, abetted by his malicious virago of a wife, tanned the hide of Christiaan Martensz's woman (commonly called Mostert's Marij). The cobbler's virago clapp'd Mostert's Marij over the head with a pick that the blood ran down. The latter fell to the ground from the blow; then came the shoemaker running up and trampled the stricken creature with his feet on the breast, stomach, etc. Mean while the cobbler's jade also not idle, but used her fists so hard as she could, and questionless they would have ravaged that creature to death had not Mr. Bek come down upon the scene and said: "There shall cognisance be taken of this affair"; then they let her alone. Mean while, thus manhandled, the pitiable creature was obliged to make her way home. After hearing this history I walked back to my little cot. On coming home I learned that Mr. Appel, with Lourens the smith and Jan Harmansz, had been to our house and that Appel had said he would come again in the morning.

TUESDAY 16TH

This morning bright weather but chilly. Fair headway with plowing, as also with riding dung into the so-called new garden. In the forenoon I was abroad on the lands and found the corn for the greater part standing very green and pleasant; after being there awhile I stroll'd home.

WEDNESDAY 17TH

Fine morning. This morning at nine o'clock I drove in Hans the smith's chaise to the Cape. We arrived at three o'clock. I found all the friends in good health. I was told that all the goods sent to us from the Fatherland were come over safely. I found that twelve ships from the Fatherland lay in the roadstead, among which 4 Zeelanders which had made the passage within three months. Toward evening I fell in with Mr. Paran; the same used me right civilly. He invited me to his lodging, whither I went with him. It was at Abraham Hartog's house. There were several friends at the place, also the sick-comforter Lussing, who was full of new wine. Mr. Paran was hard at it passing round the flagon, so that I soon learned that this friend might justly be set down for a brother of the moist community. After having been there awhile I strolled home. Before this, I was at Uncle ten Damme's house. [Company's servant. No relation to Tas.]

THURSDAY 18TH

Fair morning. This morning at Mr. Oortman's house [burgher lawyer] to drink coffee. Then to Mr. Cleenveld's house and from thence to Mr. Wigman's to seek the sick-comforter Joannes Simonis, but they told me that he had walked to Uncle Husing's house, where I fell in with him and accordingly greeted him. I asked him at once if he would like to ride abroad with me, to which he agreed and appointed our journey against Saturday. In the afternoon I was with Mr. Gerrit Remkes [soldier] at Claas Meijboom's house, who told me that the Governor indeed had forbade his baking, but that he had none the less not left off. From thence I went to Mr. van der Lint's house, and on to the Castle to speak with Mr. de Wet, also spoke with Mr. Kina. Then I made my way to Mr. Pfeiffer from whom received 60 rixdollars on account, of which paid to Uncle Husing for 20 prs stockings sold for him 10 Rdjxd., for sugar 4 Rijxds., and for 30 yards baize 15 Rds., to Christoffel Hasewinkel [Messenger of the Court] for one jar tea 8½ Rds., to Christoffel Buders for lime 10 Rds. In the evening was at Mr. Verney's house where spoke with sundry friends, and toward nine o'clock stepp'd to my lodging.

FRIDAY 19TH

Fine morning. This morning again at Mr. Oortman's house to drink coffee. Mr. Trip also arrived there accompanied by the Governor's eldest son. Above-mentioned Trip at the Governor's request has his lodging in the Castle. He has, so 'tis said, delivered letters to the Governor, among others one from Mr. Witsen

[Director Dutch East India Company] who had written somewhat sharply to the Governor over the latter's slovenly manner of Government, over which the same was not a little beside himself. Mr. Trip also relates how that ill tidings of the Governor were come over by letter to the Fatherland, and that his affairs there stand in no good state, and that, please God, it might well happen that he gets the boot. We may therefore hope for the best. People have seen already that he has removed the soldiers who kept watch about Rogge Bay. I was told at the Cape that a new-born child was found on the beach, but dead, and yet more things, etc. This afternoon at Mr. Corsenaar's house awhile [Company's Salesman], and from thence to Stephen Vermey's. Then at nine o'clock strolled home. This evening two horses sent by my wife to ride abroad with tomorrow.

SATURDAY 20TH

Morning overcast. This morning with various friends to take leave. Also I was in the Castle at Mr. de Wet's house [cellar-master] where left a blackjack in which to put two bottles of sack. At 11 o'clock to horse, together with the sick-comforter Simonis, to prosecute our journey to Stellenbosch. Coming into the Tyger Valley we strengthened our hearts somewhat with a cup of wine. While we were there Mr. van der Heijden arriv'd with a chaise, being of intention to drive us to his homestead, as also Arij van Wijk with a chaise, having aboard the Honourable Jannetje [Starrenburg ?] After a little chat we rid from thence. Toward evening we arrived home and found all well there.

SUNDAY 21ST

Pleasant morning. This morning, in company with Dominee Simonis and sister [in-law] Barbara, walked to Stellenbosch to go to church. Mr. Bek having mount'd the pulpit took as his text the words which we read in the Revelations of St. John in the 2nd Chapter at the close of verse 10. At the close of the service we stepped home together. In the afternoon we walked to Mr. van der Bijl's house to visit same. We found there Messrs. van der Heijden and Pretorius. We fell briskly to chat over a glass of red wine and a pipe, and in the evening departed home.

MONDAY 22ND

Fair morning. This morning walked with Mr. Simonis to Stellenbosch to visit Mr. Mahieu; he was not at home then, but at the meeting of the Landdrost and Councillors. Mr. Bek was there at the house with Mrs. Mahieu and Mr. van der Lit's [Lint] eldest daughter. Mr. Bek took us with him into the house where

we fell to gossiping over coffee and a pipe. After we had been there awhile we stepped home again. In the afternoon Mistresses van der Bijl and Gildenhijs arriv'd at our house together with young Mistress Geertruij van der Bijl. They fell to playing cards together and toward evening departed. This evening after supper I was a long time in converse with Mr. Simonis and then we went to take our rest.

TUESDAY 23RD

Fine morning. This morning wrote a note to Uncle Husing, and return'd to him the account of the battle of Hochstett [Höchstadt] together with the note of the prisoners and dead, etc. I gave it into the hands of Mr. Simonis with whom walked to Mr. van der Bijl's house, whither Mr. Bek came also. The latter was of intention also to travel to the Cape, Mr. van der Heijden with Dominee Simonis drove off this forenoon in the chaise and Mr. Bek on horseback. Further, walked with Messrs. van der Bijl and Pretorius to Stellenbosch where we went into the mill. After having staid there awhile we walked to the town-house with Mons. du Toit [Huguenot farmer]. There we drank a glass or so of wine and smoak'd a few pipes of tobacco. Then we went home where we partook of something to eat. After the meal we played cards to pass the time until evening. Then the friends departed. Today our man Jacob journeyed to the Cape, from thence to ride to the Groenekloof with a note from Uncle Husing to fetch for Jantje [Tas's little son] from thence the twelve heifers big with calf; also to let some cattle of ours graze there; there being up-to-date 54 draught oxen brought from here to the Groenekloof (by order of Uncle Husing) to graze there for a time. [That is to say, not by order of the Company. Husing was infringing the terms of his meat contract by grazing cattle other than his own.] Three old oxen remained lying on the road to the Groenekloof.

WEDNESDAY 24TH

Morning overcast with N.W. wind. This day a beginning made by three of our slaves with vine-pruning. The rest busy with the wall or embankment to repair it in some places.

THURSDAY 25TH

Morning overcast, wind as above. This day our slaves busy again pruning in the vineyard; others went to the river to chop wood. This day Mr. Pleunes or his partner had two horses brought here belonging to our man; they will put up with them no longer on their farm.

FRIDAY 26TH

Morning rather cloudy; the river this morning was pretty high; it appears to have rained bravely last night. Progress made again pruning in the vineyard: also straw ridden into the pens. Furthermore, the old press-house somewhat redded up. Today Mrs. van der Bijl sent us some pickled stew ["hutspot"] of a pig killed. In the afternoon to the cornfields, and found the corn for the most part standing very green. May God give His blessing to further encrease. This evening a heavy mist came down that was abominable.

SATURDAY 27TH

Morning fine weather, but it did not last long, when the sky began somewhat to cloud over; also the N.W. wind began to blow up fresh. Progress still made with pruning in the vineyard. The rest of the slaves have been busy hewing wood by the river. In the afternoon it began to rain hard.

SUNDAY 28TH

Cloudy morning; it rained hard again last night. This day none of us has been to church, as Mr. Bek must needs hold service at Drakenstein, and for any one who knows how to read there is no sense in walking to church in order to hear some reading. Wherefore have spent my time this day in reading and in singing a psalm.

MONDAY 29TH

In the morning pleasant weather, then chilly with S.E. wind. This day our folk have again been busy pruning in the vineyard. This morning in company with my wife walked in the cornfields; after we had strolled about there awhile we stepped home again. In the afternoon Mr. Bek came to our house, Mr. Stamhorst and Mr. Mahieu. Aforesaid Stamhorst is a son of the Amsterdamer Dr. Stamhorst. The friends sat there awhile and chatted. They remained with us in the evening to supper; after supper hard at it again chatting pleasantly together, smoaking the while a pipe of tobacco 'till the friends at last departed. This day our man Jacob is come home again from the Groenekloof; also are brought here the 12 heifers for our Jan, all heavy in calf; this being a god-father's gift, which indeed is worthy a double thanksgiving. Also have got a letter from Jan Kuijperman [Husing's man] who writes to me that he has received 51 of our draught-oxen.

TUESDAY 30TH

Lovely weather this morning. Good progress with pruning in the vineyard. This forenoon together with my wife, sister, and Jantje walked to Willem Nel's house. It gave me pleasure to be at the place. The friends have eight little children in all and live, so it appears, devoted and well-content in their cottage. After a quiet hour or so there our party strolled home again. Come home, I found there Claas Vegtman, the crippled Vulcan, who had sharpened two pruning-knives on our grindstone, for the which the man shewed himself right grateful and offered to clean our horses' mouths, etc. After the man had lapped up some glasses of wine he departed.

JULY 1705

WEDNESDAY 1ST

Pleasant calm morning. Our boys [slaves] busy again pruning in the vineyard and carrying straw into the pens. Later, the straw-carriers got to digging in the vineyard. This forenoon the predicant Bek came here to the house attended by the Elder Mr. Mulder and Mr. Stamhorst. Mr. Bek invited us to Holy Communion next Sunday; after sitting awhile departed together. In the afternoon at three o'clock Mr. Bek here again with Mr. Mulder (they just went to see Mr. Grevenbroek), when we offered them something to eat and drink; meantime, over a pipe of tobacco, we fell to talking of various matters. Toward evening the friends departed. From our man Jacob we understand that this evening after supper he saw Arend Gildenhuijs with a slave on our ground. He stood squinting at our waggons. What our friend had in his mind to come so late on to our ground is more than I can guess.

THURSDAY 2ND

In the morning the weather as above. Our folk hard at it again digging and pruning. Shortly after midday I sent 3 leaguers of wine to the Cape, two waggons hired from Barend Lubbe and one of our own waggons. By this means I sent a letter to Pfeiffer; a letter to Uncle Husing, wherein I thanked him for godfather's gift to our Jan; further, a letter to sister Tas whom I requested to send our goods, being now at the Cape, with our wagon. Lastly a letter to Mr. Starrenburg to whom I have sent the folio of the 14th extract by W. Sewel [lexicographer] and further besought him that I might have answer about the timber.

FRIDAY 3RD

Morning misty, but it was not long before the sun began to shine brightly. Progress made again with pruning in the vineyard and digging, also straw carry'd into the large shed. Toward midday Willem Nel's good wife came here bringing us a piece of veal. In the afternoon at one o'clock I walked to Stellenbosch with the said good wife and sister Barbara for to hear the preparatory address. [Preparatory to the celebration of Holy Communion.] Mr. Bek began to preach at about three o'clock. He took his text from the 51st psalm of King David, the 19th verse. After the sermon the preacher gave out from the pulpit how that there were two members accepted by ecclesiastical certificate, namely, Mrs. van der Lit [Lint] and her eldest daughter. This time the precentor sang mournful long and low, to wit the 51st psalm. When people came out of church the sun was not very high above the horizon, for the reason that the preacher began to preach much too late; which goes ill with the people who dwell far away. The preacher also gave out from the pulpit (this I had almost forgot), that next Sunday people must come somewhat early to school—I mean church; with that every one out of church and made their way home.

SATURDAY 4TH

Cloudy morning. This morning, fully an hour before day-break, our man Jacob is come home with the waggon bringing with him all the goods which were sent to us from the Fatherland; amounting according to invoice: f241. 5. heavy money [Netherlands value]. Besides this, got a letter from sister Tas who writes to me that all is sent; also got from Uncle Husing a broadsword and belt which sister writes that he bought for me. This sword pleases me not at all; it might well be a Kaffir's [Cape executioner's] side-arms. Furthermore, got a letter from Mr. Starrenburg who sends 8 ties [horizontal beams for connecting rafters] of 5 and 7 inches, costing f5. 10s. the piece f44; but the planks, writes he, are impossible to get: there go the gentlemen of the Court trotting off with it, so that none is left over for the farmer; altho' I believe that the Cape burghers also have not drawn much; none the less, the timber, in my opinion, was sent over from the Fatherland for the use of the free burghers. In the forenoon at ten o'clock Mr. van der Heijden's man came here to the house to fetch a gross of long pipes [churchwardens], the which I had promised him. Said man told me that he had heard that not Vieravond but Mr. Starrenburg was made landdrost, and was to make his entry during the coming week. Thus it is true, as

I well believe, and I perceive as clear as noonday that in this country there is no depending upon talk. Toward evening Mr. van der Heijden came here, telling me how he had been in converse with the Governor, and how the latter had frightfully abused him and that on several days. This berating had its origin in the sum of eighteen hundred gulden which van der Heijden should have of the Governor for 30 leaguers of wine delivered to him by van der Heijden, so that finally he gave to van der Heijden an assignment for f1,800 to order upon Pfeiffer. For the rest, van der Heijden pay'd for the gross of long pipes and in the evening departed.

SUNDAY 5TH

In the morning I walked with my wife to Stellenbosch. The weather was clear but cold: there was frost last night. When we arrived there it was still too early to go to church, so we dropped into Mr. Mahieu's house the while, where was Mr. van der Lit's eldest daughter. From thence we went to Hans the smith's, and from thence to church. Mr. Bek being mounted in the pulpit took as his text the second verse of the 23rd psalm of David. After the sermon the Lord's Supper was dispensed to the congregation. When all was ended we turned homeward. In the afternoon I strolled with my good wife to Mr. van der Bijl's house. After the midday sermon Mr. Pretorius also arrived with his wife so that we fell to talking, and toward evening went home.

MONDAY 6TH

Morning fine weather. Pruning in the vineyard and digging goes ahead again. This morning I stepped along to Stellenbosch and pay'd Mr. Mahieu 2½ Rgxdr. for three books bought by me at the sale of Mr. van Loon's books [late minister of Stellenbosch]. Further, I betook myself to Mr. Bek's house, where smoaked a few pipes of tobacco and drank a glass or two of sack together; then, with Messrs. van der Bijl and van der Heijden strolled to my home where we had dinner. After the meal we fell to playing cards, a little bowl withal going the rounds. In the evening ate and drank again together. After supper the friends departed.

TUESDAY 7TH

Pleasant morning. Progress made again this day with pruning in the vineyard and digging. This morning to horse with van der Heijden to ride to his place, where we chatt'd heartily, drank, and smoaked; neither was eating forgotten! At night we went to sleep, or betook ourselves to rest.



From the painting by Quirijn Brecklenkam, 1661

CONVERSATION PIECE.

The guest is drinking from a "Berkemeyer". Reproduced by permission of the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (copyright).

WEDNESDAY 8TH

Morning lovely weather. On getting up found that my head hurt a good deal, but after we had drunk some coffee with milk I was again hale and hearty. In the forenoon Mr. van der Bijl arrived and, when we were sitting at table, Mr. Hercules du Pre [Pré, Huguenot farmer]. After we had munched and quaffed somewhat we departed. Mr. du Pre wished to ride to Mr. Appel's. We touched at Mrs. Elberts's house; there we staid so long that the moon made its appearance; then from thence we rid home. Was told me that a certain man at the Cape, Gerrit Dirksz, was murdered by a Frenchman, who used a handspike! At home all well.

THURSDAY 9TH

Morning fair. Our folk have been hard at it again pruning in the vineyard and digging. Today Charles the bluffer not to be seen, and I am told that yesterday also he sneaked away. It tends to something mean in the lad.* (Charles, apparently, was evading the bearers of the petition.)

FRIDAY 10TH

Cloudy morning. This morning Willem Nel came here to the house, with whom our man Jacob, six of our slaves and two Hottentots drove out to go fishing with the seine. Two boys are gone off to prune in the vineyard, and one to digging.

SATURDAY 11TH

Morning cloudy, with rain. This day two of our slaves were at the pruning again. Today Jan Sanderts's wife was here to borrow corn, but that was refused her, seeing that we shall need our corn ourselves. This night it rained bravely.

SUNDAY 12TH

Morning overcast: 'twas rainy weather. This day have not been to Stellenbosch, for that Mr. Bek be now officiating at Drakenstein, where this day he dispenses the Lord's Supper to the French community. In the afternoon came our fish-waggon back from the beach. They got no herring; all the same, they are not come home without fish as they brought twenty rockbass. Jacob related how that yesterday there were at least five waggons on the beach but none of these had caught any thing.

*This passage is obscure in the original. Tas writes 'Charles de poetser' (polisher). I do not think he meant polisher, for the word has more ready translations. I suggest that 'poetser' here derived from 'de plaat poetsen' — to slip away, sneak off, and poetsen (Flemish dialect), to hoax, chaff, or cheat. Such a supposition gives coherence to the paragraph.

MONDAY 13TH

Morning overcast, with rain. This day our slaves busy again pruning in the vineyard and digging. This morning Dirk the sexton turned up here. He came to beg the loan of a muid of corn, but that was refused him, seeing that we ourselves have need of our corn. This afternoon presented our man Jacob with a new hat, being one of the hats sent to me from the Fatherland. It rained today in squalls.

TUESDAY 14TH

Morning somewhat cloudy. This morning there arrived at the house Mr. Cruse [Garrison bookkeeper and son-in-law to the Fiscal Blesius], Mr. Starrenburg as new-made landdrost, and Mr. Poulle [Secretary of the Council of Policy and Vendu Master]. The new landdrost is to be installed next Friday and Mr. Poulle leaves tomorrow for the Paarl to sell a farm belonging to Theunis de Bruijn. The gentlemen left here for Mr. van der Bijl's, there to breakfast, and toward noon to return here, which came to pass. Mr. van der Bijl also here with them to dinner. Having had dinner we fell to smocking followed by tea-drinking. Shortly thereafter our friends departed to Mr. Roberts's. Mr. Cruse is come abroad to install the new landdrost and to render thanks to the other. Mr. van der Bijl remained here 'till evening; also turned up here in the evening the harum-scarum Jacob Pleunes who after being here awhile took himself off with Mr. van der Bijl. Note: This day handed to Mr. Starrenburg an order for Joannes Pheiffer for the sum of f44 for 8 beams bought for me by said Mr. Starrenburg at f5. 10. —pieces. This day received a letter from brother [in-law] H. van Brakel to have two or three muids of wheat, but I have written to him that there is none to spare.

WEDNESDAY 15TH

In the morning sky overcast. Our good folk have been busy again pruning in the vineyard and digging. It began to rain hard hard in the forenoon, and has rained nearly the whole day thro'. Toward evening Mr. Nel came here who having staid awhile at even departed again. Also Mr. Elsevier [Secunde] sent a Hottentot here for a muid of wheat and a muid of rye, but I gave him to understand that there was none. It began to rain hard in the evening.

THURSDAY 16TH

In the morning the wind S.E. The sky somewhat overcast, it was also chilly. Progress made again this day with pruning and digging. This afternoon I strolled thro' part of the corn-land, and found it standing pretty well. 'Twas chilly this evening.

FRIDAY 17TH

Pleasant tranquil morning. Still going ahead with pruning and digging. This forenoon Mr. Jan van Hoorn [sick-visitor] arriv'd here with the chaise, together with his wife and daughter, also Mr. Bentham, Kalde's brother-in-law, and Keetje, Kalde's child. They remained here for the midday meal and departed toward evening. Mr. van Hoorn told me that he was become sick-comforter at the Cape now, where he is about to take up his office. This day the new landdrost Mr. Starrenburg was present'd to the councillors and officers of Stellenbosch and Drakenstein. Toward evening Mr. van der Heijden came here with whom chatted awhile. Later in the evening he departed to Mr. van der Bijl's, where Dominee van Hoorn with his wife etc. also would pass the night.

SATURDAY 18TH

Lovely morning. This morning two oak-trees (that were dug up in the garden yesterday) were planted before our door. God grant they may flourish. This day bought a draught-ox from Gerrit de Vries for 8 Rixx-drs. Our slaves have again been busy digging and vine-pruning. In the forenoon Mr. Jan van Hoorn came here to take leave of the sick-comforter. He related how that Mr. Roberts was arrived with his family at Mr. van der Bijl's house. After he had smoaked a pipe of tobacco his daughter fetch'd him to ride hence as Mr. Bentham awaited them.

SUNDAY 19TH

Morning pleasant weather. This morning walked to Stellenbosch with sister Barbara to go to church. Mr. Bek having mounted the pulpit took as his text the words in the second psalm of David which are to be read in verse XI: "Serve the Lord with fear." He brought these words to bear upon the subject of Divine Worship. He preached tolerably well. There was a brave attendance at church. After the sermon I strolled home with Mr. du Toit. The latter remain'd with us to dinner. After dinner we made our way to Mr. van der Bijl's house. There we found Messrs. van der Heijden and Pretorius. After being there awhile Mr. Pretorius departed, and we went together to our house, where were also Mistresses van der Heijden and van der Bijl. After some chat and a round of wine the friends depart'd in the evening.

MONDAY 20TH

Fine morning. This day our folk have again been busy digging and pruning. Toward midday Mr. du Pree came here and at noon remained to dine with us. After dinner he departed. Then,

in company with Mr. van der Heijden, I rid to the Tygerberg to visit Mr. Diemer. Before we arrived there it became downright dark, so that we were at a loss to know which way to ride. We dismounted from our horses and led them, and thus in a maze tramped thro' thick and thin like two vagabonds, but arrived however all well. We set ourselves down to table there and drank some Berkemeyers of wine and then repaired to rest.

TUESDAY 21ST

Weather fair in the morning, then a heavy mist began to fall. Right early this morning busy'd ourselves tossing down a cup or two of wormwood wine; there was a morsel of breakfast in addition, the which larded with wine. After the meal we drank some cups of tea; then to horse to set forth upon our journey home. In the afternoon at half past one, at a rough guess, we arriv'd at Mr. van der Bijl's house and found there a huge table of company. 'Twas a noble feast. Among others, we discovered there (without seeking him out) the old Norseman of a [ex] landdrost Robberts. The fellow looked very rum and not unlike an ass that had been swilling holy water! Moreover he walk'd swerving like a swallow with one wing. He saw that none of the other guests had much to do with him; for the rest, we were mighty merry together, which lasted into the night. At length, full and sweet, I made my way home with sister, and went home direct as I were drawn by a line, but when I came to a standstill at home I very soon found that I had it not of hearsay, but that I had bespoken gaffer Bacchus himself.

WEDNESDAY 22ND

Morning cloudy. I found myself not at all well this morning and was very much out of sorts. This day our boys [slaves] have been busy digging and pruning. This evening I receiv'd greetings from Mr. Appel and his wife.

THURSDAY 23RD

Cloudy morning. This day sister Barbara with the two van der Bijl girls rid to du Toit's to celebrate his daughter's birthday. In the afternoon Mr. Appel sent a catch of fish to us, two rock-bass and some herring. Riding straw into the pens, digging and pruning in the vineyard still goes ahead. In the afternoon I strolled to Mr. van der Bijl's house. There I found Mr. Gravenbroek and Hans the smith. Shortly after my arrival came Mr. van der Heijden, together with his wife and eldest son. We fell to talking hard of various matters; mean while poured sundry cups of wine and smoaked not a little. Toward evening a boy

came to call me saying that the bright new pin of a landdrost was arrived at our house; upon this I stepped home and welcom'd the same and more or less wished him good fortune. Mean while I was told that sister had not much diversion at Mr. du Toit's and was come home quite early, for that the old Norse landdrost's impertinent wife had used sister very insolently and flung a deal of abuse at her head, pushing her as she would strike her. She said that my wife had affronted or insulted her, because when we were marry'd she wish'd to cut a piece of meat, and my wife said that such was not good manners, the which is a fat-headed lye, because here (tho' they came uninvited) they were entertained and received as friends. Moreover, this is more than two years ago, and now she would take it out of sister which is senseless. When the opportunity occurs we shall just talk this over with the ex-provisional landdrostess and demand her reason for this usage. I am astonished that prior to yesterday she has not spoken to me or my wife concerning it, because we were together at Mr. van der Bijl's house; but then she durst not do her jaw-work openly. After I had chatted awhile with Mr. Starrenburg, had eaten and drunk, we betook ourselves to our night's rest.

FRIDAY 24TH

Morning overcast, with rain. This morning I went with Mr. Starrenburg to Mr. van der Bijl's house. We found Messrs. Heijden and Appel there with their wives. After we had talked there, smoaked, and had drunk some glasses of wine we turned homeward again together. After dinner the landdrost Starrenburg rid on my horse to Stellenbosch. In the afternoon when the rain held up the slaves got to digging. This morning a load of corn carry'd to the mill, and toward evening the load, changed into flour, came home again. The landdrost came here again this evening. He said he was to ride to Hottentots Holland tomorrow.

SATURDAY 25TH

Cloudy morning. This morning the sick-comforter Mahieu came here to have speech with the landdrost. Also came here the landdrost his man as also a rascal of a field-cornet. When we had had some breakfast the landdrost on one of my horses rid together with his man to Hottentots Holland. Toward noon Mr. Appel arrived here bringing a fine fresh rock-bass, of which we ate with relish this midday, and larded the same with wine. Our folk today have been busy again vine-pruning, digging, and weeding. Toward evening one of Mensink's boys came here. He had brought a load of corn to the mill; he unyok'd [out-spanned] here.

SUNDAY 26TH

Weather fair this morning. Have not been to church today, because Mr. Bek at present holds service at Drakenstein. In the forenoon the landdrost returned here from Hottentots Holland. At ten o'clock we walked in company to Stellenbosch. I have made out an invoice for the 10 muids of corn which have already been ground for Mensink, and sent a Hottentot with it together with five gulden in cash, otherwise they would not release the meal that was already ground. Furthermore, pay'd to Jacob van Driel 10 stuivers scale-money and 1 stuiver for ledger-money, thus altogether f5. 11. Then I walked with the landdrost to Mr. Mahieu's where sat a space and then strolled home again. It has rained bravely this night.

MONDAY 27TH

Morning cloudy with rain. In the forenoon the landdrost walked to Stellenbosch, and toward midday came home again; in the afternoon we employed ourselves reading a little; then we played cards to pass the time. Today our boys again busy at work digging in the vineyard. This day the river very high.

TUESDAY 28TH

Dull morning, the wind N.W. There is progress made with digging in the vineyard, and also with pruning in Jan Bomban's old vineyard. This forenoon the landdrost rid on my horse to Pr. [?] Roberts's (so he said). The river this day much fallen; fine weather this afternoon.

WEDNESDAY 29TH

Morning fair with N.W. wind. Today four of our slaves have been busy pruning vines in Jan Bomban's old vineyard. This morning the landdrost came here with his man. He told me how that Hans Henske was put in jail or into the cells, and that the same was to depart today for the Cape to be kept in custody. Furthermore, he told me that yesterday he got a letter from the Governor, the contents that a certain parcel of land which the Governor had given to Mr. van der Heijden for his son was given to another. Ill tidings for Mr. van der Heijden, because he has already had it measured. After we had had some breakfast the landdrost rid with his man to the Cape. This forenoon with my wife to walk round the cornfields. We found fresh lion or leopard tracks on our land close to Botma's land. In the afternoon sister is to Stellenbosch to fetch sweet sugar [as opposed to black sugar]. On coming home she told me how she had heard there that Uncle

Husing had been supplying rice to Hans Henske and other barterers for their journeys; in this my heart fails me. People say also that Uncle Husing was telling several lads that now there was free barter for the free burghers; but this talk must come from the mouth of one of the Company's servants, seeing that the Fatherland's letters be read by no burghers, and therefore this is naught else than a malicious libel.

THURSDAY 30TH

In the morning the wind as before with sky overcast. It appears to have rained somewhat last night, and it looks like it yet; consequently all our slaves busy digging in the vineyard near the house. This morning Mr. van der Heijden arrived here at the house. He asked me if Jacob Louw were here, saying he had heard that the latter was yesterday in Hottentots Holland with the Governor for to make some request, but he had gotten an angry answer and was obliged to depart discomfited. Mean time, I told Mr. van der Heijden that the parcel of land given to him by the Governor for his son was now given by the same to another. After we had smoaked a pipe together he departed. Short upon midday brother [in-law] Jacob Louw and Jan Elberts came here to the house; shortly after arrived here also Mr. Jacob van der Heijden. We fell to talking together, to wine-drinking, and tobacco-smoking. Mean while Ferdinand Appel also arrived. He was the last to come and the first to go. I invited brother Louw to spend the night here, but he said he was to ride home again with Jan Elberts according to promise. Mean while we made our way together in the evening to Mr. van der Bijl's house where we were again mighty busy with the bowl; in the evening I walk'd home.

FRIDAY 31ST

Cloudy morning with N.W. wind. To horse this morning to Mrs. Elberts where I found Mr. and Mrs. van der Heijden and also brother Louw; here also were brother [in-law] van Brakel and his wife. When we had been there awhile Mr. van der Heijden with his underlayer drove home; I also rid thither with brother Louw; there also we fell to eating and drinking and smoaking a pipe of tobacco; then to horse and we three rid to the Ronde Bosje. When we arrived at Mr. van der Heijden's house it began to rain hard. Toward evening we carry'd home brother Louw; having been there awhile we stepped forth again to Mr. van der Heijden's dwelling where we passed the night.

AUGUST 1705

SATURDAY 1ST

In the morning I drove to the Cape with Mr. van der Heijden and Jan Elberts in the former's chaise. When we were past the Castle we met the landdrost with his man on horseback, he being minded to ride abroad. We arrived at Uncle Husing's house and found all our friends in good health. In the afternoon I walked to Mr. Meerland's house where I found Mr. van der Heijden. After having smoaked a pipe there I stepped home to Uncle Husing's. This day the Roode Blom was sold to Mr. Pfeiffer for f1,550. At the same sale 300 sheep sold for 120 Rijxdrs. Passed this night with Mr. van der Heijden at Uncle Husing's house. We took our night's rest in Mr. Rotterdam's room.

SUNDAY 2ND

In the morning I went with Mr. van der Heijden to Mr. Poulle's house, where we drank a tot. From there we walked together to Mr. Pfeiffer's; at this place also we drank a tot of gin; then we took our way to Mrs. Munkerus, with whom we drank a cup or two of coffee; then we went to Uncle Husing's home, and with him ate a morsel of breakfast and poured down a glass of wine on top of it. Upon this we took leave, mounted to horse together and rid to the Ronde Bosje. After having staid there a little we resumed our journey to Stellenbosch. At the Kuilen we were on and off the horses, and riding on arrived about sundown at Mr. van der Heijden's house. After smoaking a pipe of tobacco I got to horse again to set forth on my journey home. When I was come a little past van Arnout's house my horse fell with me, or I with the horse, to the ground. 'Twas just as if the horse had a foot jerked from under him. I struck with my left leg under the horse, but I dragged the leg away so quick as I could. Mean while a pistol shot out of the holster and the holster broke loose. I thought to rise as quick as the horse, but that did not succeed. The horse went forward a little, and after a few steps came to a stand, when I remounted and rid on. Arriving home I found all well.

MONDAY 3RD

Morning pleasant weather. Our folk have been busy again pruning vines in Antje's garden and digging in the large vineyard. This morning I was at Mr. van der Bijl's house. Mr. and Mrs. van der Heijden arrived there in the chaise; I drove with Messrs. van der Bijl and van der Heijden to Stellenbosch. They went to the Council meeting; the new landdrost was to preside for the first

time in the Council today. I went to Mr. Bek and gave the same a message on behalf of Uncle Husing, that Uncle at present had no rice to spare. After having staid awhile with Mr. Bek I stepped home. In the afternoon my wife stepped along to Mr. van der Bijl's house to visit wife of same; toward evening I followed her for to fetch her home. In the evening Mr. van der Heijden arrived there in the chaise having the landdrost with him. We remained there to supper and walked home with the landdrost. Come home, we repaired to our night's rest.

TUESDAY 4TH

Morning fair weather. This morning the landdrost rid from here to Mr. Mulder. Digging in the vineyard and pruning still goes ahead. This morning have sent Louis the Hottentot to the Cape with a letter for Uncle Husing and ditto for sister Tas, 2 prs mules [slippers] for sister, and a black and white quilted hood.

WEDNESDAY 5TH

Morning pleasant weather. This morning the old Norseman landdrost Peter Roberts, accompany'd by the new landdrost drove by way of our place. They came back and forth the waggon to light a pipe of tobacco, then they are got up again and drove together to the Hottentots Holland to have speech with the Governor. Presently I drove with my wife, sister, and our Jantje to Mr. van der Heijden's. Messrs. Appel and Pretorius also turned up there. Toward evening we departed again. Good progress made this day with vine-pruning and digging. We were invited again for tomorrow to Mr. van der Heijden's home.

THURSDAY 6TH

Very misty morning. This forenoon we drove together to Mr. van der Heijden's house. We found there Mr. van der Bijl and his wife as well as Mr. Pretorius and the wife. We took dinner there. In the afternoon we fell to playing cards to pass the time. In the evening we sat down to table again, and after the meal departed together. 'Twas about ten o'clock, at a guess, when we arrived home. This day there is an end made of vine-pruning, and digging still goes on. This day I am told how that a slave of Willem van Wyk's widow (recently remarry'd), was punished by her present husband for some misdemeanour; whereupon this fellow ran to the Governor in Hottentots Holland where he was detained by the Governor. Mean time, it is the people's best slave, but the man durst not fetch him again from fear of ill-usage. 'Tis to be deplored that the affair goes thus. This evening received a letter from sister Tas with the money for the mules and hoods

sent to her, as well as for a pair of stockings which Aunt had of us. Also received for myself a pair of shoes.

FRIDAY 7TH

Fine morning. This morning straw ridden into the pens, then our slaves as one man hard at it digging in the vineyard. I was told that the shooting heard at the beginning of this week came from Robben Island for supplies and victuals.

SATURDAY 8TH

In the morning it was very misty, but it began to clear up shortly after. This day our folk have again been busy digging in the vineyard. I was told that the Governor on hearing the shots that were fired from Robben Island rid very suddenly to the Cape; had it been in his power he would indeed have flown thither. Mr. Willem ten Damme [Company's surgeon] and his wife have ridden with him. He conceited that the ships were come. It seems that he is afraid on this account. I believe his conscience pricks him.

SUNDAY 9TH

Misty morning. This day we have not been to church as Mr. Bek preach'd at Drakenstein. In the forenoon came Willem Nel here on [sergeant] Vierabond's behalf, requesting a half-cask of wine, the which refus'd him for reasons which seem good to me. [Vierabond would not subscribe to the plot.] At noon when we sat at a table Mr. Appel arrived here to bring a catch of fish, among which two soles. He told me that the old Norse landdrost Robberts had been very uncivil to him. Furthermore, he said that Jan Botma had already brought cattle on to Mr. van der Heijden's farm, as also that the old Norse landdrost had complained to the Governor over Mr. van der Heijden, how that he pitched into him. [Apparently Botma the man to whom the Governor transferred the land which van der Heijden stated should have been his son's.]

MONDAY 10TH

Morning fair. Today our slaves again busy digging in the vineyard. I made the round of the cornfields this afternoon, and found the corn in different places standing well, but in some parts a deal of marigold that needs to be pluck'd out.

TUESDAY 11TH

Very pleasant weather this morning. This day our folk were busy weeding the corn. In the afternoon it was very hot, as it were a summer day. At two o'clock I walked with my wife to Stellenbosch. We arrived at the house of the sick-comforter Mahieu, and being before the door heard the wife warbling a ditty.

Having entered the house we found the good wife alone at home. She said that her husband rid to the Cape this morning. We fell a-drinking tea with her. She told us that the landdrost's men had caught the long-sought David Pannesmith and taken him to jail. After having sat there awhile Mr. Bek came in, with whom smoaked some pipes of tobacco. Toward evening we departed.

WEDNESDAY 12TH

Cloudy in the morning with north wind. 'Twas as cold this day as yesterday was hot. Today our folk have been busy again weeding the corn. Still cloudy in the evening. The weather appears to be quite set in for rain. The N.W. wind has blown hard all night.

THURSDAY 13TH

Cloudy morning. This morning my wife fetched by Arend Gildenhuijs with the chaise as his wife had begun labour. Toward evening my good wife came home again, saying that the wife was successfully delivered of a son, but that the mother was poorly. This day the weeding in the cornfields brought to an end. In the evening the landdrost arrived here at the house. He had been with the Governor in Hottentots Holland with the old Norse landdrost Robberts, who (so he said) was very honourably retired by the Governor for his past services as landdrost, but whether he has obtained this in writing I was not given to understand. This evening I walked with the landdrost to Mr. van der Bijl's house. When we had been there awhile we turned homeward again together. After supper we fell to talking, and thereafter repaired to our night's rest.

FRIDAY 14TH

Fine morning but cool. In the morning Mons [Monsieur] van der Bijl came here to ride with the landdrost to Stellenbosch. After we had had some breakfast both of them rid off. Mean while Hans Kasper arrived at the door on horseback, but he was not minded to get off how hard soever he was besought. The man came to ask for corn. He was willing to pay 15 gulden the muid; when he heard that there was none he rid to the Cape. At present our slaves busy again digging in the vineyard. I am told that the Honbl. Company pays at present 14 gulden the muid for corn, but the Governor is sufficiently informed to know that none of the free burghers has corn at this present, so that this happens merely for the sake of the Jonker Frans [François van der Stel], who has deliver'd . . . muids in the name of. . . . Thus the great men know how to toss the ball one to the other. My self, I am

full sure that so one of the free burghers came to deliver corn to the Honbl. Company he would draw no more than 8½ gulden, its being the ordinary price.

[The copying-clerk's work is here marked: "Correct. Witness (sgnd.) A. Poulle. Sworn Clerk.]

DECEMBER 1705

MONDAY 7TH

Warm morning. Today our folk have been busy cutting rye and Sicilian wheat. Toward noon I rid to Stellenbosch. After I had had speech with some friends at Hans the smith's house I turned homeward again. This midday the Mistresses van der Bijl and van der Heijden were here to dine with us; in the afternoon Mrs. Coetse turned up with her daughter Griet; some time afterwards arrived the landdrost, as well as Messrs. van der Bijl and van der Heijden. After a little chat Mr. van der Bijl and van der Heijden departed, but the landdrost remained here 'till it grew dark, when he also departed after the young Mistress Coetse a little while before had gone off with her mother.

TUESDAY 8TH

Misty morning, but it did not last long, when the sun broke thro'. Our slaves and the Hottentots have again been busy cutting wheat and rye. This morning at 6 o'clock sister Louw rid from hence with her two travelling companions to go to Mrs. Elberts, from thence to Mons van die Heijden and to proceed to the Cape. This forenoon I went to see the rye cut. Today the cutting of rye and Sicilian wheat brought to an end, so that the Hottentots are about to leave for Mrs. Elberts's again.

WEDNESDAY 9TH

Morning fairly warm. This morning brother Jacobus van Brakel turn'd up here. He told me some news, among other things that the Governor would persecute and oppress four men at the Cape as much as he could, namely, Husing, Meerland, van der Heijden, and Tas, who were the principal contrivers of the evil that blackened him, and that it might well befall these men what befell some rebels and robbers in the Amsterdam insurrection, who were hanged from a window of the weigh-house. A sorry comparison that men of honour who with energy seek to champion the community should be likened to rogues and insurgents.

Furthermore, the Governor means to appear shortly at Stellenbosch to lecture some men there, or to teach them something of a lesson. They frighten the children of our country with a giant, but men who live in honour and integrity, and are themselves aware of no misdemeanour, have need to dread no one. Also a certain woman (T.D.) had been prating how that the Governor might well take some men by the ears, whereupon was answered that they might well break the Governor his neck. But at no body has he aimed with more diligence than at Uncle Husing. Mean while, he cannot harm the man in the least. He had also said that he had done three things which would do him the most harm. The first was that he had entered into the contract with Uncle Husing concerning the slaughter; the second that he had allowed barter; the third that he had given the wine contract to Pfeiffer alone, so that now he is frightfully hard-pressed, not knowing which way to turn. Mean while he is hard at it getting people to side with him. The lady aforementioned also said that the Governor was very astonished that Diepenauw had deserted him, and that he had not expected such of the fellow. Much more unexpected things will happen to him in course of time. The good God grant His blessing thereto, because at present it goes here so grossly off the track that it has neither rhyme nor reason. When brother van Brakel had eaten some breakfast here and drunk a glass or two of wine he rid to Mrs. Elberts's. Today the rest of our corn to the amount of 16 muids taken to the mill. In the afternoon our slaves were reaping the ripest corn; in the evening Mr. van der Heijden came here to have speech with me. I imparted important news to him. After smoaking a pipe he departed.

THURSDAY 10TH .

Warm morning. Right early in the morning sun our two waggons loaden with salt are returned home, so that Mr. Diemer is no good prophet, as he had said that I would get no salt, but my man Jacob told me that the load was lay'd aside for him by Jan Kuperman, altho' he himself in no doubt whether or no he would get salt out of one pan or another. Furthermore, I am told how that the landdrost with his catchpolls in the Groenekloof had sought to prevent the people's fetching salt, and that no body might fetch salt without having a permit from the Governor, and then withal were the salt riders obliged to ride a load to the Cape for the Company; again just a device to plague the farmers.

This afternoon Coert Helm was here, of whom I bought a quantity of lime.

FRIDAY 11TH

Cloudy morning. This morning have caus'd 8 barrels of lime to be fetched from Coert Helm, also have settled with him this day, and pay'd the settlement to him g14. At the same time Laurens the mason or stonebreaker turned up here. The same told me that the rice ship from Batavia to the Cape was arrived with tidings that the Governor's brother Adriaan, who is Councillor Extraordinary of India, was gone as Commander to Amboyna or elsewhere, and Hendrik was become Comptroller at Malacca; also that young Corssenaar was dead, and his widow already rewedded to a Junior Merchant. Toward evening Mr. van der Heijden arrived here, who told me how he had fared at Drakenstein. I was also told this day that Father Bek is to the Cape with the nominations for Elder and Deacons; the Church Council had nominated Jacob van der Heijden as Elder, and as deacons Mahu [Mahieu] and Tas. Questionless, the sermon-maker will suffer an affront of the Governor over this, because against the first and last named he has conceived a grudge which is already chang'd to hate. This evening, sitting at table, brother Harmanus arrived here.

SATURDAY 12TH

Warm morning. Today our rye ridden home, being 2,500 sheaves. I am told how that the Governor was to ride to Vergelegen [his farm] on Tuesday. Let us hope that shortly he will betake himself yet farther from the Cape. Mean while we hope for good tidings from out the Fatherland. [i.e., a reply to the letter of complaint sent to the Directorate.] The good God lend His blessing thereto. This day our corn, changed into flour, fetch'd from the mill.

SUNDAY 13TH

Very warm in the morning. This day have not gone to church as the sermon-maker had to hold service at Drakenstein, and I my self have learned how to read. This morning our man Jacob went to Mr. van der Heijden after Hottentots, but he did not bring it off, because the Hottentots have still a good week's work to do there cutting corn. In the forenoon I went to Mr. van der Bijl's house, with whom had some chat of sundry matters worthy discussion. At half past ten I stepped home again. Today my wife's festering breast burst, much matter running from it. In the afternoon the young mistresses Truijte van der Bijl and du Toit came here. After they had drunk tea, read some hymns, and taken a snack they departed again. Toward evening Mr. Appel

came here with Schalk Willemsz [van der Merwe]. Appel told me how that Arij, Uncle Husing's man, together with a lad named Lambert Besemboutie, and Michieltie who now lives on sister Tas's farm, and Jan Beukes, Uncle's late man, and a slave and a Hottentot of Andries the baker's, had gone to the beach to fish; that they went into the water together; that Jan Beukes, Michieltie, and Andries the baker's slave and Hottentot were come out of the water again, but that Arij and Lambert were missing, the which doubtless be drowned; yet made no sound which the others heard. A sad misfortune.

MONDAY 14TH

Warm and tranquil morning. Today our slaves have been busy cutting corn. In the afternoon I was called to Mr. van der Bijl's house; Mr. van der Heijden was also there. I went thither at once. They told me that not only was Arij, Uncle's man, drowned, but also that he was washed up on the beach, and further informed me that the Commissioners, etc., were about to ride off to inspect him. With that I rid thither with Mr. du Toit and Mr. van der Heijden. Arrived at sister Tas's place I gave orders to have Arij fetched with the ox-waggon after the inspection was completed, and to bring him to Meerlust [Husing's farm]. Then I rid with the aforesaid Commissioners and the Messenger [of the Court] to the beach. We found the dead man lying on the beach not far from the Laurens River. He lay outstretched naked on his back, with his shirt wound tightly about his head and his arms also bound to his head. After the shirt had been cut loose with a knife from the arms and head by Mr. van der Heijden we found the man to be quite spund over his whole body, only his ears were a little damaged by the crabs, also his elbows something red thro' chafing. We carry'd the dead man by the arms and legs a little higher up; then came four of Uncle Husing's boys [slaves] who stood guard 'till the waggon came. Thereupon I rid off again with the Commissioners to Mr. van der Heijden's house, where I found Jan Beukes who was come from the Cape whither he had carry'd the tidings of the man's death. Mean while I gave orders to have a coffin made for the dead man and have ask'd Jan Beukes about planks. Claas the carpenter, now working at van der Heijden's, will make the coffin tomorrow, and the day after at Stellenbosch the dead man will be committed to the earth. After we had eaten and drunk at Mr. van der Heijden's house we spent the night there.

TUESDAY 15TH

Fair morning and very warm. This morning I rid home with Mr. du Toit and the Messenger. In the afternoon I rid to Stellenbosch and asked Hans the smith's wife whether on the morrow the deceased might be bury'd from their house, and to this she agreed, the while I undertook to have carry'd there on the morrow the necessaries of wine and meat for the bearers and those who were to follow the corpse. From there I went to the sexton's to have a grave made and to invite some friends to be bearers, then I rid home again.

WEDNESDAY 16TH

In the morning a S.E. wind which blew up fairly hard. This morning one of brother [in-law] Mensink's slaves turned up at the house with 6 muids rye likewise wheat who told me that he had been to the mill, but the miller had said that not for a week could he help him, because there was no water in the mill and a deal of corn. Upon this I went to the mill, but the miller told me the same thing. Jan Beukes has been here also, saying that the waggon with the corpse was already on the way, being brought to Stellenbosch. Toward midday I sent five pails of wine in a half-cask [approx. 20 gallons] to Stellenbosch, together with a Cape ham, three quarters roast flesh of a fat wether, and three loaves of bread. They can make merry with it there. This day our folk have been busy again cutting corn. Our man Jacob, come home again in the evening from the funeral, told me that a good many people were there, and that there was still some food left over, the wine had come to end, so that Arij is bury'd decently. This evening eleven Hottentots came here from Pieter Rochefort [Pierre—a Huguenot] to cut corn.

This day received a letter from brother van Brakel who wrote to me how the letter that was left in Motje's keeping was reclaimed by him, but that he had got for answer that it was burned. Pretty!

THURSDAY 17TH

Fine morning. This morning our people together with the Hottentots were busy cutting corn. In the afternoon I was called to Mr. van der Bijl's house where was one that wished to have speech with me. Mr. Grevenbroek and brother Hermanus were also summoned thither. After the business there was transacted I turn'd homewards again. Toward evening Dirk the sexton came here, whom I pay'd for Arijs's grave, the shroud, and the undertaking 7 Rix., the which being the charges due, whereby I am quit of my responsibility. This evening another party of Hottentots is arrived here from Mr. van der Heijden to cut corn.



Illustrating the costume of the 17th Century. Reproduced by permission of the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (copyright).
A WEDDING PARTY.
From the painting by Jan Steen. 1672

FRIDAY 18TH

Warm morning. This day our slaves together with the Hottentots have again been busy cutting corn. This forenoon I am told how that the other drowned man Lambert Besemboutie was washed up yesterday and found at the same place where Arij was found. The same also, so it is said, little damaged. The Commissioners with the Clerk have been to the beach to inspect him. In the afternoon Cristoffel Hasewinkel sent here to have a half-cask of wine, the which have had follow him by one of his slaves. This day brother Hermanus left here again for his outpost.

SATURDAY 19TH

Morning fair. Our slaves and Hottentots busy again cutting corn. This morning it was told me that Jan Pretorius is to wed the young Mistress Coetse. In the afternoon Mr. Appel came here who among other things which he had to tell informed me how that Mr. Wessel Pretorius and Hans Jacob Contreman [Hans the smith] were appointed councillors in place of Messrs. du Toit and van der Bijl. In the evening Dirk the sexton arrived here from the Cape, but he brought back no news from thence worthy of mention. Toward evening a nice rain.

SUNDAY 20TH

Morning cloudy, it looks much like rain. This forenoon our slaves together with the Hottentots were busy cutting corn. This morning it rained a bit. In the forenoon I walked to Stellenbosch. I asked Hans the smith if he would be travelling shortly to the Cape; I wished to give him a letter to take with him. After I had spoken with Messrs. du Toit, Pretorius, and Pleunis I stepped home again. In the afternoon pay'd 11 Hottentots for cutting corn. They go from here to Mr. Rochefort. Hard upon this the landdrost arrived here with Hans Hendk. Hatting's horse, the which he extorted from the latter. After he had smoaked a pipe here and taken somewhat to drink I walked with him at his request to Mr. van der Bijl's house. When we had been there awhile Mr. Pretorius also arrived there, and presently Mr. van der Heijden likewise. In the evening I strolled home. Tomorrow there is to be a list made of the new councillors. This but *propter Welstantium* [for the sake of appearances], for that we already know who they are or will be. I had it this evening and of no hearsay. This day received a letter from sister Louw.

MONDAY 21ST

Warm morning. This day our slaves in addition to the Hottentots busy again cutting corn. In the afternoon I rid to Stellenbosch. I gave a letter for Uncle Husing to Hans the smith wherein lay one enclosed to sister Tas; also gave to Hans the smith an assignment to draw upon Uncle Husing for my account: to draw f205 being the total of his account against me. When I had transacted my business there I rid home. I have sent a letter to sister Louw by Mr. van der Heijden, as well as the little basket with her things which has stood here a while long. This day both the young Mistress Coetze and the lad de Lange were Confirmed. This day advanced for Uncle Husing miller's fee f5. 11.

TUESDAY 22ND

Morning warm weather. Our slaves and Hottentots busy again this morning cutting corn. Early in the morning Mr. Grevenbroek here all decked out to ride the rounds with the preacher Bek. [To invite members of the congregation to the forthcoming celebration of Holy Communion.] At five o'clock he was already booted and spurred, but Bek was not forthcoming. Mean while, Grevenbroek, with his sword girt at his side, sits sentinel the whole forenoon at our door, his horse, saddled and bridled, tethered to a stake. When we had done dinner Grevenbroek took horse and rid to the preacher's. That is a stout Elder that minds his minister like a dog named "Watch". 'Tis no wonder the priest prizes such an Elder, tho' for the rest he has very little respect for him. I hear that Grevenbroek, without having attained his end, is returned with his horse, so that he may reckon to have done wasted sentry-go this day. Now has the priest arranged to ride tomorrow with him. So Grevenbroek would pay the priest out must he himself lye low tomorrow. I know there is more than one that would cook his goose in such a fashion, if only to break these high-flown Templars of such dodges. Today the sexton was here with his cat [presumably his wife], but they left here to go in the first place to Mr. van der Bijl's house.

WEDNESDAY 23RD

Cloudy morning. This morning a beginning made with riding home the corn. This day early in the morning Mr. Grevenbroek was again all booted and spurred and his horse saddled and bridled. After he had waited upon the parson a good three hours the latter is at last arrived. He would not dismount, so that Grevenbroek took horse and they rid away together. In the afternoon Nicolas van Gleeff's wife came here to the house and bought three pairs of

stockings. After she had sat here a space and drunk tea she departed. She rode horseback like a man, a leg on either side. In the evening about six o'clock the preacher Bek arrived here attended by his old grey Elder Grevenbroek. He invited us to Holy Communion next Friday. He made his address a good deal shorter than hitherto. After he had smoaked a pipe or two and drunk some glasses of wine he took himself off. In the afternoon our folk at work laying our corn in heaps.

THURSDAY 24TH

Morning fair. Our folk have been busy riding home the corn and cutting the rest of the corn. I was told this day how that the Governor's wife out of dejection would fain have drown'd her self. To this end she sprang into the fountain behind the house at the Cape, but Mrs. Berg was there and rushed forward to help her, dragging her out of the water, to whom she pitifully complained that life frightened her so, because every day she was obliged to hear and see so many excesses. Strange occurrence, whereby hangs a good deal to reflect upon. ["Mrs. Berg" was Anna Bergh, wife of Captain Olaf Bergh, a Swede, Commander of the garrison.] Towards evening Uncle Arnoldus arrived here from the Cape. He had no news to tell.

FRIDAY 25TH

Christmas Day. Cloudy morning with N.W. wind. Towards church-time it began to rain hard so that we had necessarily to remain at home. It irked me because we have been kept the whole day in the house by the steady hard rain, like prisoners, the which hard rain is the cause of the river's running so high, yea, nearly as high as the water was the whole rainy season. It rained and blew frightfully all night so that the water on this side of the bridge has streamed like another river. Moreover, the water has streamed thro' the whole vineyard, the embankment in several places being broken thro'. This day have received a letter from sister Tas—writes to me that Uncle Husing has pay'd f205 to Hans the smith on my account; also sends me 4 lbs. coffee beans at 6 stuivers the lb.; likewise that Uncle had sold to Claas Meijboom for me 200m., wheat @ f9 the muid. God grant that the weather may calm, else will the corn in the fields come to harm. Lastly, I am informed how that four slaughterers are appointed at the Cape, to slaughter for the Company and the freemen. From the Company they will draw 14 doits the pound, and from the free burghers 2 stuivers. Moreover, none other than the aforementioned four appointed slaughterers shall be able to sell meat. The following

are the slaughterers: Michel [Ley], the Swiss bone-chopper, Overholster, Willem Basson, and Anthonij a mason late come from the Fatherland. Now the Governor has it to his liking. He has discovered the little device how to sell off his own sheep and that of others of his own people. They write to me also that Oortmans, Eams, and Bouman are burgher councillors. Now is the Cape provided with three burgher councillors that are fawners and foxswan-ers ["foxswanssers"].

SATURDAY 26TH

Second Christmas. [Boxing-day is still commonly called second Christmas at the Cape.] In the morning the dreary N.W. wind blowing as hard as ever accompany'd by rain. The water as high as I believe it has ever been, also the sky now so heavy that it will go on raining. The Lord God preserve us from great damage. We shall certainly hear of misfortune thro' this unprecedented weather. It has perhaps never happened that it has rained so frightfully in the heart of summer. Last night the dam in our vineyard was also broken thro'. We have seen divers sheaves of corn floating in the river this day as well as divers pieces of timber, roots of trees and so forth; also the so-called skeleton of Balaam's Ass, having lain a little way from our door, was washed away last night. Toward noon it began to blow dreadfully hard from the N.W., much more violent than it blew last night. In the afternoon the river was a good deal fallen, so that people could cross the bridge, but 'tis to be feared that thro' the incessant rain it will run higher again. Today 'tis so damp in our yard and everywhere that people can hardly set a foot down without getting themselves wet. The Lord God, I hope, will preserve us from accident. This afternoon our man Jacob rid to Stellenbosch to fetch 4 lbs. coffee beans from Hans the smith, brought by the latter from the Cape. Come home, he related that Grevenbroek was at the preacher's house, and that on Friday night he had slept on cushions in the church without tasting food that evening. Great devotion and piety on the part of the old lubber (so we may not rather call it whimsy), but at this present he was at the priest's house and there would pass the night. When evening fell Mr. van der Bijl came here, who told me how that the night before his wife and children had taken up their abode in the barn for fear of the water. During the evening the weather began to calm somewhat; late in the evening before the water began to fall.

SUNDAY 27TH

Pleasant morning with sunshine. The river this morning was already fallen a good deal. This forenoon two slaves on horseback rid across our ground, the one Mr. Appel's, the other parson Calden's. Calden's slaves related that there was a patch of his master's corn standing in a valley was washed away—the reason the slave rid to the Cape, to warn the hypocritical Templar. Appel also lost a good deal of corn thro' the water. Lamentable affair. They tell me also how that a quantity of Mr. Guiliam du Toit's corn-sheaves are floated away by reason of the high water. This afternoon Arnoldus and our man Jacob rid to Coetse's. Toward midday Mr. Grevenbroek came home. He said he had slept two nights in the church. Foolish antics. In the afternoon the water was fast on the fall. These two days' rain in the heart of the dry season will long remain in the memory of many men, considering that it is an extraordinary strange thing, for perhaps it never thus happened before. I am also told that Mr. Mahu the sick-discomfoter has suffered great damage thro' the heavy rain to his new-built house; he estimates it at quite f1000, but said to be magnify'd by him. They say that a chimney or two, besides a bake-oven are collapsed. Who knows what the new house, which has been so long a time in hand, will yet cost ere it be completed. The house is built in such an oblong fashion, like the man that had it built. In all his affairs, speech included, he is long-drawn-out.

MONDAY 28TH

It was pleasant, still, weather in the morning. They told me this forenoon how that at Vergelegen, the Governor's spacious homestead, a large shed was collapsed thro' the aforementioned rainy weather, the which had cost 4 or 5 Hottentots their lives, also some sheep had come to grief. In the afternoon, having gone to Hans Contreman's house, it was told me how that now at the Cape Uncle Husing is talked of by some malicious, or, rather, ignorant people, in a cursed gall-bitter manner. Among other things said of him, that he was a traitor and a corrupter of the inhabitants, and whereas now there were new butchers appointed there would be a deal of jibing over the multitude of his cattle, of which it was said that the crows would yet devour it, and that he would yet become a poor man, and more of such rapsallion and runagate talk. Moreover, it was said of him that Uncle was a malefactor or mischief-maker at the Cape, and they said of me that I was such an one at Stellenbosch; all of which libellous

rumours and palpable untruths come only out of the Governor's head-piece for to incite people against Uncle and me. The infamous fellow would gladly be rid of us were it practicable. For years the accursed tyrant has fleeced and oppressed the inhabitants in such an unheard-of fashion that they are almost out of all patience with it. Now the shameless calumniator seeks to shift the blame from his own shoulders, and to cast a slur upon men of honour in this manner. *O Tyden! O Zeden! [O tempora! O mores!]* Yet the righteous God, let us hope, shall one day bring down upon the base head its own evil and not allow honest men longer to be oppressed.

Last night our corn in the fields turned over to dry, also part of the corn taken from the half rick to dry; the latter will later be taken down in its entirety. This evening an empty half-cask was brought here from the landdrost to be filled with wine for him and returned. I was told that the landdrost was come abroad with the Commissioners. The Commissioners were Mr. Verseijl [van Zijl] and Abm. Overnej. [Burghers appointed by the Government to check produce and stock for tithes.]

TUESDAY 29TH

Pleasant morning. This morning Mr. Verseijl came here; shortly thereafter Mr. van der Bijl and Mr. Elberts with whom I rid to Stellenbosch. We took with us the half-cask of wine for the landdrost. When we had been awhile at Stellenbosch the mill came up to be leas'd [by auction], but we saw few people at the place. After the mill [i.e., the lease] had been put up by the officer the premium was drawn by Mr. Appel at f1000, so that the [burgher] councillors have again kept the mill to themselves. [A premium was awarded to the highest bidder.] Furthermore, a letter was opened by the landdrost from which we learned that Jan Elbertsz and Hans Conterman were appointed councillors in place of Messrs. du Toit and van der Bijl; the new councillors thereupon congratulated. Mean while I rid home, the landdrost with me. The latter as well as Mr. Verzijl remained to dinner with me. In the afternoon Mr. Overnej also came here. Toward evening we walked together to Mr. van der Bijl's house. After sitting there an hour or two stepped home again. After we had eaten and drunk together the friends betook themselves to their night's rest.

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. The roof somewhat damaged by the extream violent wind. At nine o'clock the landdrost, with the dear young Mistress Coetse and Mr. Verzeil, rid to Stellenbosch. My wife loaned her a horse. In the mean time it showered with rain pretty continuously—God better it—such a thing is exceeding bad for the corn which lyes in the fields. Mr. Appel has had a half-cask of wine fetch'd this day, and has been here in person with Mr. du Toit, but after drinking two glasses of wine rid to Stellenbosch. In the afternoon the Messrs. van der Heijden and Appel here, who staid a little and then departed together to Mr. van der Bijl's house. This afternoon it rained and thundered again incessantly midst the blowing of the S.E. wind. Last night also it was showery. In the evening Mr. Overnej came here. He brought greetings from the landdrost and Verzeil and remained at my little home to eat and sleep.

TUESDAY 5TH

Cloudy morning with N. wind; showers of rain still. This morning Overnej, with his pack under his arm, walked to Stellenbosch. He said he purposed to ride to Drakenstein this day to make a survey. This forenoon it began to rain hard again, midst the blast of the N. wind—a sad business for the corn that lyes in the fields; it has already had a tremendous rain, and 'tis no sooner dry than it begins to rain again. This is something uncommon in the dry season which never in the memory of man has happen'd before. In the afternoon much water fell again by way of showers so that the river began to encrease tremendously. Today is Jannetje, Willem Nel's good wife, gone home from here. She has been here fully five weeks.

WEDNESDAY 6TH

Cloudy morning, the wind E. Last night it rained pretty hard, and it looks there's no coming to an end yet. It seems that the weather cannot abate. The good God have mercy upon us all. Hardly had I written this when it began to rain again. People have seldom seen it rain with a S.E. wind even in the rainy season, now it rains with all winds. This afternoon in company with Mr. van der Bijl, van der Heijden, and Appel I rid to Stellenbosch. We rid to Mr. van der Bijl's post [grazing farm] where we staid the night.

THURSDAY 7TH

Pleasant morning and very warm. This morning Mr. van der Bijl has ridden to Rietbecks Kasteel. Shortly afterwards both of us [Tas and van der Heijden] undertook the journey. We touched at Mr. van der Lit's house where we were well regaled with drink. From thence we rode to Matthys Greef's house, where we found the table laid and went to sit down with them, but all who were in the house were pretty well tipsy. After having sat there awhile we rode onwards. Arriving at van der Bijl's house I found my wife there, as well as Kaatje Kloete [Cloete] who was paying Mrs. van der Bijl a visit. Toward evening I walked home with her. She lodged this night at our house. Today Mr. van der Bijl gave in the returns of his produce. Sown 15 muids of wheat, reaped 90. Sown 5m. rye, reaped 25. Cattle 135 great and small. 1000 sheep. In the face of this return I can see that I have returned more than half too much. [i.e., Tas had been less clever than his neighbour in evading his tithes by inaccurate returns.]

FRIDAY 8TH

Warm morning. This morning together with my wife, Kaat Kloete and Mrs. van der Bijl, rode to Mr. van der Heiden's house. Mr. Appel and his wife also arrived there. Toward noon, sitting before the door with Mr. van der Heiden, we heard brisk firing at the Cape. I was told that early in the morning also guns were shot off there, and that the Governor had ridden very early to the Cape from his homestead. We conjectured that it must be the English. Toward evening I rode home again with my company. People hard at it this day riding home the corn. This evening Kaatje Kloete also rode home again.

SATURDAY 9TH

In the morning the wind northerly with sky overcast. It looks as the weather inclines to change again. Great progress made now with riding home the corn. We have again heard firing from the Cape this morning; what the significance of it is time will tell. This day most of our corn (God be thanked) got home. At eventide it began to rain again; by so doing will this year's corn make a bad yield; a good deal on the musty side.

SUNDAY 10TH

Cloudy morning. It rained again last night, altho' more water has fallen higher up than with us, considering the height of the river. There is no sermon at Stellenbosch today; the preacher Bek has to hold service at Drakenstein. In the afternoon the sun

began to shine thro' brightly, the wind to blow S.E., and the weather to calm. I am told that 2 English return ships are in the roadstead. That is the reason for the firing we have heard.

MONDAY 11TH

Pleasant morning with the wind S.E. This forenoon our corn got home. Today Willem Nel is come here to work. In the afternoon I made the round of the vineyard more or less. I found that the water had done a deal of damage there.

TUESDAY 12TH

Fair morning. Today our folk busy threshing. In the afternoon Mr. van der Bijl and Pleunes came to the house. Mr. van der Bijl related that brother van Brakel was sorely disturbed by the new-fangled laws and unheard-of inventions which the Governor now sets on foot, namely: the appointment of four butchers and the like number of bakers, outside whom none shall be permitted to sell meat nor bake bread for sale, the which accursed things are invented by the *Tyrant* in order to play his own rôle with his cattle and corn, and in order to give colour to this business the appointed butchers will go to certain farmers and make offer to the same for their fat wethers, 3 to 4 gulden, because they know well enough that no body will give his wethers for so little; and so doing the *Tyrant* procures quasi reason for delivering his own sheep [for sale to the Company]. Well devised, but not yet carry'd out. Shortly, perhaps, there 'll come a spoke in the wheel. I am also told how that crooked Piet, so-called, was caught by the butchers selling meat, which meat was brought to the fiscal, where Piet also appeared, retorting upon the fiscal that he is obliged to slaughter in order to turn an honest penny or two; that without it he was unable to earn his livelihood, whereupon says the fiscal, I acquit you. Thereupon Piet took himself off, intending to go on slaughtering, etc. Also arrived here Mr. Appel. The friends drank some glasses of wine and smoaked the while. Upon midday departed together.

WEDNESDAY 13TH

Pleasant morning. This day our folk have been busy again threshing. Today the preacher Bek sent for 8 bottles of wine to be fetched from here in a demi-john, to which end he sent me a note-of-hand. This afternoon a fence made round one of the oak trees (standing before the door), to protect the same from the violent winds. I am told that the landdrost has mulcted a certain Frenchman at Drakenstein of 60 Rxdrs., for this reason—the man gave in as his returns to the Commissioners 50 cattle and 200 sheep.

Mean while the landdrost was given to understand by one or other informer that the man had 200 cattle and 800 sheep. Upon this the landdrost together with the Commissioners told this man's cattle and found that there were as many, to wit 200 cattle and 800 sheep. Yet I cannot see that over this misdemeanour, if they will call it so, a fine can be demanded, and, what is worse, of 60 Rxdrs. In what ordinance, think I, has the landdrost read of such a thing, or by whom is such a thing permitted to him? If Monsieur the landdrost may demand fines in this fashion then I see him a rich man anon. [A proportion of fines was his perquisite.] Mean time I remember the saying: 'Stern lords, short rule,' but the people are more than mad so they pay the fine on his demand without further ado.

THURSDAY 14TH

Fine morning. Today our folk have been busy threshing again. People say that five English return ships lye at anchor at the Cape in Table Bay bringing 180 slaves for the Company, but that a part of them is already dead. Upon midday Mr. Appel came here, who told me that the Company's Messenger C. Hasewinkel. was at his house. He supposed that the same was sent to him by the false priest Kalden on account of the corn that was washed away; upon this he rid home to hear what the Messenger had to say. He told me would inform me on the morrow of what passed. Toward evening Mr. Mahieu the sick-comforter came here. He came from Mr. van der Bijl with whom he had gone thro' the Colony's account [i.e., the accounts of the "colony" of Stellenbosch], but they could not come into agreement, the difference was no less than f600. He pay'd me 5 Rxdrs. for a half-cask of old wine, and for 10 bottles of wine 10 schellings. Firing heard again this morning.

FRIDAY 15TH

Cloudy morning, the wind northerly. 'Tis no suitable weather at present for threshing. Shortly after midday the wind began to blow S.E., but the sky remained overcast. They tell me that again this morning several cannon-shot were fired at the Cape. In the afternoon I walked to Stellenbosch. I touched at the landdrost's, from thence I went to Hans Contremen's house; further, I came upon the priest Bek [seated] before Mahu's new house. The landdrost was also there before the door. We smoaked a pipe or two of tobacco together and drank several rummers of wine. In the evening I rid to my house with the landdrost; after having somewhat to munch we betook ourselves to rest—I had it of no hearsay.

This evening received a letter from sister Tas who wrote me how that the affair in question between the Governor and Uncle Husing is now composed to the content of both sides, and that I should hear of such in more particularity upon my approaching visit, etc. This evening Joannes Vlok, resident on Uncle Husing's farm, sent us a fine catch of fish.

SATURDAY 16TH

Fair morning. Our folk continued with threshing. After breakfast this morning the landdrost rid with his men to Stellenbosch. This morning I heard tremendous firing at the Cape. Sent some fish today to Mr. Bek as well as to Mr. Mulder, from whom received in return a letter and some red peaches. Among other things he wrote to me how that he had understood with great content that the differences between the Governor and Uncle Husing be absolutely settled and composed, even as the same had never come to pass; the which, he wrote, was what people never would have thought before—that it should ever come to that. None the less, is it the truth; so changeable are the world's affairs. I cannot, however, imagine that Uncle was the first solicitor, because he has always shewn himself steadfast; yet be it as it may time will make it known. Toward evening Messrs. van der Bijl and Appel came here, having the notion that they would hear news of me. Then I imparted the above to them, seeing that no other news was writ to me. After the gentlemen had been here awhile they departed. Late in the evening the landdrost arrived here with the Commissioners. They staid here to supper. After we had chatted awhile betook ourselves to rest.

SUNDAY 17TH

Warm morning: Early this morning the landdrost together with the Commissioners rid to Stellenbosch the while I stepped to Mr. van der Bijl's house to speak with Mr. van der Heiden, and to learn in what manner Uncle Husing was come to an agreement with the Governor. He told me then how that several times he [Husing] was requested by the Secunde and the false man of the Temple, Kalden, to come to the Governor, etc., that thereupon he went at last to the Castle, and entering the Governor's house the Governor had him come into a room where were also Elsevier and the priest. When Uncle Husing was come into the room the Governor banged the door to, and said to Uncle: "I sent these two friends to you to discuss a pact between us, and with what they have arranged with you I am content." The which gives me no surprise, because Uncle Husing was to give the Governor—the

which he has already fulfilled—3000 sheep and two slaves. Upon this the Governor, they say, pledged Uncle in a glass of Rhenish wine, and added thereby: "All question dead and done with," and with a second glass he drank with him a cup of friendship; thereupon Uncle went his way. In my opinion Uncle has done here a sore foolish deed, because he was bound to give the Governor nothing in the world, for with God's blessing the same will not be Governor much longer; besides that, the Governor still holds on to over ten thousand gulden which at different times he has received from Uncle; but the worst of all is that by his action Uncle absolutely incurs the hatred of the commonalty by whom he was formerly extolled. Add'd to this, a few days ago the Governor said, or, rather, spread abroad among the people, that Uncle Husing be the sole cause of the trouble at the Cape, and that people ought to trample his house at the Cape underfoot in the night and kill him; from which we can sufficiently judge how evilly disposed toward Uncle is this accursed false heart of a *Turk*—schurk [shark] I mean; wherefore I am of opinion that this new-hatch'd friendship with the Governor will beget Uncle some ill. Time will discover all. In my judgment this hatched-up friendship is nought but a Judas kiss and lyes on a treacherous morass. In the forenoon I rid to Stellenbosch with sister Barbara to go to church. The priest took his text from the prophecies of Haggai Chap 2.v.8. He dawdled along exceeding doleful and several times nearly stuck. At the end of the sermon I was summoned with the Elder, Mr. van der Heiden, before the pulpit to have ourselves inducted—Mr. van der Heiden as Elder and me as deacon. When the formulary had been read out to us and we had responded thereto, the priest came tripping down from the pulpit and taking us by the hand gave us his blessing, and wished us a happy year in the service we had entered upon. I must confess that this thing appeared very droll to me, for I have never seen the like before. After Service we strolled home together. At five o'clock in the afternoon I walked to and from Mr. van der Bijl's. After being there a little time Mr. du Pree arrived there also, as well as the two Commissioners, with whom toward evening went to my house; the same together with Mr. du Pree staid there to supper in the evening. After the meal we fell to talking which lasted until past mid-night. Then we betook ourselves at last to rest.

MONDAY 18TH

Warm morning. This morning after breakfast Messrs. the Commissioners walked to Stellenbosch; also Mr. du Pree rid away on horseback. In the afternoon I rid to Stellenbosch for to appear

at the Church council hubbub. The members were all complete, and the respective landdrost was there present as also the Commissioner of Accounts to audit the same. After the accounts had been examined the sermon-maker started to bring Mr. van der Bijl's affair on the carpet [accounts of 14th January?] and moved that the deacons ought to collect the same, the while he looked very sharply at me, the which I could not endure but thereupon began to answer so well as I could. I retorted then upon the preacher what I had thought of the affair, that it had been hung upon a rusty nail long since; that in my opinion it had been a scabrous affair with which I myself would never meddle, and that it looked strange to me that the former deacons had not performed the task, and more such argument. On this was the sick-comforter called upon who, in a highly mournful fashion, exceeding loquacious and long-winded, began to twaddle, so that it made me sweat to hear him. After much pudder this way and that the priest decided to ask all the members for their sentiments. Mr. Grevenbroek was the first, who spoke right well and used such a persuasive tongue that all the members were agreed. What he said ran in this wise: that the deacons had performed their proper duty in this matter; that the judgment obtained by them was given into the hands of the officer by order of the Governor; that here we should let it rest, and that the deacons therefore should never be answerable for it; it was drawn up and entered in the minute book and signed by all the members; furthermore the accounts also were closed and signed. In all this discussion, this way and that, the landdrost spoke little or nothing, but he took a piece of paper in his hand with a lead pencil and wrote awhile so hard as he could. Mean time, all the members drawing one line. Mr. Mulder jested not a little over this thing and dealt the priest brave passes. When everything was transacted we drank some rummers of wine. Then I took my leave and walked home. Mr. van der Heiden followed me with the landdrost and the Commissioners. They rid to Mr. van der Bijl's house; there they spent the night. Our folk have been busy threshing today.

TUESDAY 19TH

Fair morning. This morning Mr. van der Heiden came here who told me that yesterday evening they hoaxed the landdrost somewhat so that he flew into a passion, and asked whether they made a bug-bear of him. He went without a word to his sleeping-place [palette] and this morning early without a word he departed. Now will the man have something to tell Papa [the Governor].

Who knows what a house out of window there will be so Papa comes to hear of all these fine things. I strolled with Mr. van der Heiden to Mr. van der Bijl's house. After breakfast there I stepped home with the Commissioners; the same went together to Stellenbosch. This day I advanced to a slave of Uncle Husing's f5. 11. mill-fees for 10 muids of corn. Our folk have been threshing today and also cleaning corn.

WEDNESDAY 20TH

Warm still morning. Our folk again busy threshing. We received some vegetables by one of Uncle Husing's waggons from Meerlust.

THURSDAY 21ST

Fair morning. Busy threshing again at our place this morning. Today I drove to Drakenstein with Messrs. van der Bijl, van der Heiden, and Appel and Mr. Douwe. Having come to Mr. van der Bijl's post we ate a little, then drove on to Mr. du Pree's where we took the midday meal. From thence we drove to Jacobz van Nas; the latter was not at home. We drank some cups of tea with the wife; mean while the wife, by arrangement with Mr. van der Heiden, handed in a deposition from Mr. Duplessis [Huguenot] on behalf of the slave that was beaten by the Jonker his folk [Fraas van der Stel]. We resumed our journey and rid the road to Mr. Mulder's. A sorry road; all of us went afoot except the driver. I must confess never to have seen so topsy-turvy a road. We arrived home toward evening.

FRIDAY 22ND

Fine morning. Men still busy threshing. This morning I went to and from Mr. van der Bijl's. When I had been home awhile came brother Louw on horseback. In the afternoon we went to Mr. van der Bijl's house where we chatted away heartily. We resolved to go together on the morrow to visit Mr. Pretorius. Toward evening we strolled home together. Mr. Gilliam du Toit brought me tidings how that he had got a letter from his brother, that next Sunday a whole party of Frenchmen would come to Mr. van der Bijl's post at Drakenstein, and that I should depart thither. [This was to get signatures for the petition.] Thereupon the man rid home again. This evening a son of Mr. Matthys Greef's, named Joachem, was drown'd.

SATURDAY 23RD

Warm morning. This morning rid in company with brother Louw, Mr. Grevenbroek, and Mr. van der Bijl to Mr. Pretorius's house; arriv'd there the man again amenable. [Pretorius was

hesitant about signing the petition.] We partook of the midday meal there. In the afternoon Mr. Appel also arrived there, to whom I purposed our riding to Drakenstein on the morrow, to which he agreed. He told me that Aunt Husing and sister Tas were at Meerlust. Thereupon I rid thither with Mr. Grevenbroek and bid the friends welcome. We fell to talking together over the concord between the Governor and Uncle on account of the contract in question, yet Uncle should at all times shew that he champions the common cause, and never after this have traffic with the Governor. After smoaking a pipe or two of tobacco I rid on with Mr. Grevenbroek to Mr. van der Heiden's where we found our two travelling companions, Mr. van der Bijl and brother Louw. We fell briskly to chat and to cup, the fragrant weed not forgotten. 'Twas full eight o'clock when we departed thence. On the way we had a deal of diversion over Mr. Grevenbroek. When we were a little way past van Arnoud's house we met Kees the Finch-catcher [a jibe at the Company's fowler]; the man was choke-full; he rid ahead. Shortly afterwards we came upon brother J. van Brakel and Claas van der Westhuijsen who also had a load on them, and told us that they had been ill received by Jan Elbertsz. Then brother Louw and Claas rid after Kees and brought him back. Thereupon we rid onward in company and came to Gammer Elbertsz's house. There we drank two rummers of sour wine; then after a chat took horse again and rid to Mr. van der Bijl's, on which farm Kees was fain to take his night's rest. The other friends rid home with me. After we had eaten something and drunk once round we betook ourselves to our night's rest. We found Renier van der Zande at our home.

SUNDAY 24TH

Warm morning. After I had taken some breakfast with the friends this morning I took my leave in order to set forth upon my journey to Drakenstein with Mr. Appel. We arrived during the forenoon at Mr. van der Bijl's place. When we had been there a space more than twenty men arrived on horseback. When those that had some sense in their heads were come together I read a sermon and every one repeated Amen. Moreover, they declared that the so-called preacher Bek had not made so good a sermon, because once again he had not preached but let the Clerk read, and thereupon dispensed the Lord's Supper; bad news and a sorry business. I heard the French complain not a little over the priest. After I had despatched my business with the Frenchmen they courteously took leave, and having given me exceeding thanks departed. They were all in good heart and the highest spirits.

When they departed I, too, rolled home with my travelling companion, Appel. We arrived home a good half hour before sundown. My wife as well as our Jan plagued with sore eyes to my regret.

MONDAY 25TH

Warm morning. Our folk busy again this day threshing and cleaning corn. This afternoon was bury'd Matthys Greef's son, named Jochem. Our man Jacob was one of the bearers. I purposed also to go to the funeral, but I was not invited, the which an oversight of the crooked sexton's. The lubber did not invite most people, and as for my wife and me the bungler had express instructions to ask us.

TUESDAY 26TH

Pleasant morning. Threshing and cleaning corn has again been the task of the day. This morning I was at Mr. van der Bijl's house; on Sunday he had ridden to the Cape with Mr. van der Heiden and Mr. Hans Contreman. Mrs. van der Bijl was also plagued with sore eyes. This day I sent a letter to Mr. Mulder and required of him a little eye-wash, the which he remitted to me.

WEDNESDAY 27TH

Fine morning. Progress made again with threshing and cleaning corn. In the forenoon there arrived at our house Aunt Husing, sister Tas and Mietje; they related to us various events. Toward evening we departed in company to Meerlust. This day in quest of Koort Helm to ride a load of corn for us to the Cape.

THURSDAY 28TH

Fair morning. Progress made again with threshing and cleaning corn. In the morning Mr. van der Bijl came here. He transmitted a note to me that was nothing distasteful. He brought me also divers greetings from the Cape friends; upon this he is departed. In the afternoon I walked to Stellenbosch to have a word with Hans the smith. Going past Mahieu's house I saw van Loon's widow sitting there, that sour haughty vixen [widow of Rev. Hercules van Loon]. Arriving at Mr. Contreman's house I gave him my message; then we smoked a pipe of tobacco. Meanwhile the priest Bek rid by along with the landdrost and the cross-eyed Verseil; they came from Elsevier's place. [Secunde. His farm "Elsenberg".] Shortly afterwards I stepped home again. I found Mr. Daniel Hugo [Hugot. A Huguenot] at my house, the which was to my liking. I had Mr. Contreman called, to the end that both of them might sign a paper. Hans Contreman arrived

after dinner, thus this business was despatched. After drinking a glass or two of wine and smoaking a few pipes of tobacco the gentlemen departed. Toward evening sent two loads of flour, being 20 muids, to Claas Meijboom, as well as 10 muids wheat and 20 muids rye to the Company. This evening Mr. Verseil came here to spend the night. He told me that the landdrost had ridden to Hottentots Holland to make report to the Governor of his doings. After we had taken somewhat to eat and drink the landdrost arrived here with one of his watch-dogs [field-cornets]. He sat himself at table to eat and drink a little, very quiet the while and spoke nought. We invited him to remain but he declin'd, saying that he must to Stellenbosch; thereupon he rid off. Bon Voyage!

FRIDAY 29TH

Warm morning. Our folk busy at present cleaning corn; also the remainder of the rye weighed and brought into the loft. In all there were $34\frac{1}{2}$ muids of rye. When we had done breakfast the landdrost sent a horse for Verseil to have him come to him at Stellenbosch; whereupon the little man took horse and rid thither. Verseil told me how that together with the landdrost he had been to the Secunde, Elsevier, to impart to him the tale of their adventures while collecting the tithes. Among other things the landdrost complained about the bad returns, in respect of the corn as well as the stock; thereupon said the Secunde that they ought to put up the tenths to be leased; moreover, that in years to come the farmers should be prevented from making false returns by sending several commissioners—some 16 or more—to them, to tell the stock and the sheaves. To my mind this appears to be very unmannerly language, the which the fellow blabs forth not without ignorance and malice. The gentlemen have the last word, seeing that their knife cuts both ways, and that they have the priority in every thing, both in the purvey of wine and of grain. Moreover, they can farm more profitably than others, also build better; they fetch out of the forest as much as is necessary to them. Be there Fatherland timber at the Castle these gentlemen go off with the best; iron-work they draw from the Company's shop. In a word, they enjoy every thing they desire, and yet are they imbued with an accursed envy and spite against the free burghers which goes so far they seek the uttermost ruin and downfall of the same—at least, it is designed to impoverish the inhabitants, and in poverty to keep them, while they themselves exert their full strength to fill their pockets. But let us hope the good God will rid this country anon of the Tyrant and oppressor of the community with

all that adhere to him, and bring down his practised evil upon his own accursed head.

This day has Willem Nel got for work done, being 15½ days at f1 daily

| | |
|--|---------|
| | f15. 10 |
| For a load ridden by him for us to the Cape .. | 12 |
| For the rams that were with him | 9 |

f36. 10

Also paid to him for 2 muids peas supply'd to the Predicant Valentyn 16 rijxds. [Rev. François Valentyn; a visitor to the Cape.] This afternoon the landdrost and Verseil rid past here to Mr. van der Bijl's where he was for a while; afterwards departed to the Cape. He was very silent, as he was here also. We surmised that something else to the hurt of the free burghers will be attempted. After the departure of the landdrost Mr. van der Bijl arrived here with his wife. After our having chatted together they walked home. Toward evening a letter was brought me from sister Tas which I answered forthwith. The friends hold themselves ready to depart tomorrow for the Cape.

SATURDAY 30TH

Misty morning. This morning our waggons come home with 260 lbs. castor sugar from Claas Meijboom, and 3 caddies tea [caddy: eleven fifteenths of a lb.]; further, two pieces smoaked flesh from Mr. Kina, and a parcel of pots and pans, from Arnoldus 1 pr men's shoes, 1 pr women's mules and 1 pr little shoes for Jantje. My wife this day again got very sore eyes which occasions her much pain.

SUNDAY 31ST

Warm morning. This morning I rid to Stellenbosch, being minded to go to church. It was told me how that yesterday Mahieu's jade had played the minx and that Belij [Herman Smit] and some other females were called there; that Mahieu thereupon had various males called to his cottage in order to make his will with his dear wife in the presence of seven witnesses. When the will was drawn up he asked his wife: "What think you, sweetheart, do you take exception to any thing?" Her answer was: "Dear child, make it as it please you," and other foolishness. Having listened to this story I went to church with Mr. Pretorius. Being mounted in the pulpit the priest took as his text the words which we read in the Gospel of St. Luke. 13.v.6, etc. He droned along again. At the end of the Service I rid home. In the afternoon I walked to Mr. van der Bijl's house. After I had chatted there awhile I took my way home again.

FEBRUARY 1706

MONDAY 1ST

Warm morning. This day our folk have again been busy threshing and cleaning corn. In the forenoon the S.E. wind began to bluster, and blew high throughout the day without a pause. This day our daughter Sara very poorly.

TUESDAY 2ND

Warm, still morning. Progress made again this day with threshing. This morning we heard several cannon-shot from the Cape; we shall learn the significance of it in time. I am told how that Norse Piet Rob has driven with his chaise this morning to Hottentots Holland. Haply the rascal has some thing more to disclose on this Candlemas Day, for 'tis a sure thing that the fellow vigorously exercises the informer's craft; but he stands to get his reward in course of time. This forenoon Mr. van der Bijl came here with Barend Lubbe. After tarrying awhile they departed again. Yesterday is the Governor departed from Vergelegen to the Cape. Mr. Grevenbroek, being abroad this day, on coming home said he was told that already eleven return ships were come into the roadstead; yet afterwards Catrijn Wismer (who came from the Cape) was saying that there were no ships. Time will tell us.

WEDNESDAY 3RD

Very warm morning. Threshing progresses. Toward midday the S.E. wind began to blow up fresh again. My wife this day has been rather vexed with a sore eye which appears to become worse rather than better. I must confess that it is an evil from which the sufferers have much to endure, added to this it does not speedily pass over.

THURSDAY 4TH

Mist early in the morning. After our flock of sheep had been abroad a little time seven wild dogs [jackals] got among them, the which have bitten two sheep. The shepherd was also in a tight corner as the dogs came after him. Progress made again with threshing. In the afternoon Messrs. van der Bijl and Appel came here. They told me how that this morning ten Hollanders were come into the roadstead. Appel said that he had it of Mr. Diemer in the Tygerberg. It was also mentioned to him that a Commissioner was come from Batavia; this will be the reason for such loud firing this morning. We may now hope for some good news

for the Cape [i.e., favourable reply to letter of complaint. Batavia ignored it]. The good God, I hope, will bestow His gracious rich blessing upon it, and deliver the inhabitants of this country from oppression, so that they may lift up their heads with gladness.

FRIDAY 5TH

Pleasant morning. Our folk have been busy threshing again. This morning Gerrit Remkes came here to the house, who related his having heard that 10 return ships were come into the roadstead, of which Jan de Wit was Commander, but he added thereby that no commissioner was come from Batavia, that such was fiction; the which is grievous to all well-disposed men, considering that some good news was expected with the same. Yet God Almighty shall one day bring deliverance. Mr. Remkes partook of the midday meal here. In the afternoon we went to Mr. van der Bijl's house. After chatting there awhile we walked home, he being departed in the evening to Meerlust.

SATURDAY 6TH

Cloudy morning. By reason of the lowering weather our folk could not thresh today. Upon midday came a slave of Uncle Husing's, loaned by him to Hendrik Mulder. The same had come over from the Rode Sant [Roode Zand: Tulbagh]. He said he could not live there because it was too far from home. I had the lad taken to Meerlust and my self rid thither. After having had some chat with Mr. Gerrit Remkes and Joannes Vlok I rid homeward.

SUNDAY 7TH

Morning somewhat cloudy. This morning at eight o'clock took horse to ride to the Cape with Mr. Appel. Being come to the Kuilen we were on and off our horses. When we remounted and had ridden onward a little Anthonj Liefcrink came riding up behind us, and the father of the woman who is married to Jan Coetze. Being come into the Tyger Valley we found Hercules du Pree at Hans Hendrik's house [H. H. Hatting] and Daniel Hugo, which gentlemen were come from the Cape, saying that yesterday there was a Zelander, outward-bound, come into the roadstead. After having consumed there a pipe of tobacco we rid onward to the Ronde Bosje. We arrived at Mons van der Heiden's house, but the same was to dinner with his wife at brother Louw's. Thereupon I walked thither with Mons Appel. We found the friends at table there and went and sat down with them. After the meal we went to sit under the trees to smook a pipe. Mean while arrived Mr. Oortmans with his wife and some ships' friends; Mr.

Kina also arrived there on horseback. Toward evening the friends departed. We remained with brother Louw to the meal again, and then, mighty well-bestowed, walked with Mr. van der Heiden to his house; being come there we repaired to our night's rest.

MONDAY 8TH

Fair morning. After some breakfast we drove to the Cape in Mr. van der Heiden's chaise. First of all we went to Uncle Husing's where we fell to talking together. In the afternoon we went together to Meerland's house. When we had transacted our business there each took his own way. I stepped along to brother Mensink, from thence to my lodging.

TUESDAY 9TH

Fine morning. This afternoon together with brother Louw and Appel I was to dinner at brother Mensink's house. From thence I stepped with Mr. Appel to Mr. Kina's. After having been there awhile I pay'd to Mons van der Lind for oil: $3\frac{1}{2}$ Rx. Further, I walked to Uncle Husing's house, having been previously to Mr. Klijnveld. Not much news to be heard at the Cape at present, save that it was told me that last Sunday the Governor got a letter over which he was sore displeased and heartily stamped his foot, but the contents of the same was unknown. I have heard divers other tales to the same effect.

Claas Meijboom told me this day that the 2 loads of flour received by him of me were excellent.

WEDNESDAY 10TH

Morning fair with N.W. wind. Early this morning I was to Oortman's; from thence to Mistress Munkerus and Mistress Corssenaar to whom I pay'd my ancient debt to the amount of f28. 12. Also bought anew from her various goods for which I also pay'd. This day I went also to Mr. Diepenauw's house where was a while in talk. Further, pay'd some debts here and there. Today I was at Mr. Poulle's house.

THURSDAY 11TH

Cloudy morning; it also began to rain a little. I have bespoken some coffee beans at Claas Meijboom's. Further, I completed my little errands as far as practicable, then I walked to Mr. Corssenaar's [Company's Salesman] with whom chatted awhile. Mean time, my horse was fetched from the Ronde Bosch, so toward evening I rid to brother Mensink's where I staid the night.

FRIDAY 12TH

Pleasant morning. When I had eaten and drunk with brother Mensink this morning he had the horses put in order to drive me to the Tyger Valley. We went first to brother Louw; brother van Brakel was there also. From thence we stepped to Mistress van der Heijden's house. After I had stowed away my goods that were there I drove on with brother Mensink to the Table Valley. My horse was brought thither by one of his slaves. When we had smoaked a pipe or two there, and had drunk some glasses of wine, I took leave of them and continued my journey to Stellenbosch; mean while he returned to the brew-house. I arrived home in the evening at about five o'clock. I was so clammy with sweat that I had to change my linnen.

SATURDAY 13TH

Fine morning. This morning Cristoffel Esterhuijs came here to the house. The same said that he had spoken with Mr. Diemer; he was eager to become a fellow member of the College of the well-disposed, but for lack of the document I could not at the moment help him; thereupon he departed. Then I walked to Mr. van der Bijl's house to whom I presented divers greetings and imparted such news as I knew of. In the afternoon came Mr. van der Bijl and his wife to our house. After we had chatted awhile and had some recreation they departed in the evening.

SUNDAY 14TH

Fine morning. This morning Johannes Vlok came here, being minded to go to church. To this end I rid with him to Stellenbosch. After we had been awhile at Hans the smith's house we went to church. The priest being mounted in the pulpit took his text from the Gospel of St. Matthew, Chap. 22.v.8. He drawled away in the old style. Mr. van der Lith came into church with Theunis Liefcrinck, Skipper Salm, and one Schagen, who is paymaster to the return fleet, as well as van der Litt's two daughters. The elder daughter came to church with a great dog under her arm. Bad business. [Van der Lint's family had recently arrived from Holland.] This forenoon for the first time I went round with the chinkbag. [Offertory-bag. It was suspended from a staff, and had a little bell attached to it.] After the sermon I rid to our house with Mr. Vlok. Mr. van der Bijl invited Vlok with my wife and me to dinner. We found there Mr. van der Heijden who was plagued with toothache. When we had eaten and drunk together we sought some diversion, and toward evening stepped home. On coming home sister Barbara was taken with a seizure. She became

very faint, so much so that her pulse was almost gone. We smooth'd her temples with some vinegar and under her nose, also she took some *Sal Cornu Cervi* [hartshorn] with a little wine thro' which she came to again. Joannes Vlok took horse and rid to Meerlust.

MONDAY 15TH

Warm morning. Our folk fairly busy threshing and cleaning corn. This morning rid to Stellenbosch with van der Heijden and Mr. van der Bijl. 'Twas this day the meeting of the Council and of the [Burgher] militia board, but the landdrost, I was told, was at the Cape. The meetings did not last long. After I had been awhile with some friends at Hans Conterman's house I rid home with the aforementioned gentleman.

TUESDAY 16TH

Pleasant morning. Fair progress with threshing and cleaning corn. Father Bek had his horse fetched this day and gave me to understand that he was of intention to come here tomorrow with Skipper Salm. This day our little Sartie sore fretful.

WEDNESDAY 17TH

Warm morning. Our folk again busy this day with threshing, etc. In the forenoon Mr. Johannes Vlok came here to the house. He brought 7 muids corn to the mill for Uncle Husing, for whom have advanced him mill-fee f14. When he had drunk some cups of tea he drove to Stellenbosch. Toward evening the sermonizer Bek and Skipper Salm arrived here on horseback, who having smoaked a few pipes of tobacco, drunk a glass of wine, and had a chat departed together.

THURSDAY 18TH

Fine morning. Today our folks have again been busy threshing. At midday when we were seated at table came Hans Conterman who told me that while he was busy pressing wine he had been summoned to the landdrost; that the landdrost had bidden him come to preacher Bek's house, telling him that every thing was known to the Governor—what was written against him, as well as that there were depositions proclaimed against him: that he well knew that Hans Conterman and Daniel Hugot had testify'd against the Governor how that they had supply'd no iron-work to him; the which Hans confessed, and said that he had declared the truth, but that he had signed nought else against the Governor—that the landdrost had further questioned him whether he [Hans] was ever insult'd by the Governor—that Hans had

answered "No", and that all which he himself had requested of the Governor, of iron as of coal, had been granted to him. Upon this the landdrost read out a paper to Hans wherein, among other things set down, that those who were to sign it knew of no thing in the world to say against the Governor, and proclaimed the latter for an honest man, as well as that he was an upholder of religion, and other gross untruths which he [Hans] knew not how to enumerate—that Hans upon his [the landdrost's] firm insistence had at last signed, and had seen that 3 or 4 other people had signed, among them Hans Hendk Hatting in the Tyger Valley. This of Hans Conterman is a lamentable affair. Furthermore, he relat'd that the landdrost had sent off the Messenger together with all his field-cornets to Drakenstein, the Paarl, and elsewhere. Tomorrow the men in France Hoek were all to be summoned to Hercules du Pre's house, the other French the following day to François du Toit's house, those of the Paarl and thereabout a day later to the mill at Drakenstein, to the end that they might sign the paper in favour of the Governor. Moreover, the rascal landdrost had said that he knew that I together with van der Bijl, van der Heijden, and Appel had been to Drakenstein and what we had done there; but he had most to say about Appel and me, with the addition that there were some free burghers would go smash. On Monday next, he said, he would have the aforesaid paper signed at Stellenbosch. Hereby we can perceive as clear as noonday that the Governor is in a tight corner, this being a very sorry affair, so pitiful that he puts him self to shame; for be the man innocent then why this business taken in hand? And be he guilty this cannot help him in the least, seeing that the truth remains unshakeable and the lyes must fall of them selves. This evening, being already in bed, came a knock upon our door. The same being opened, there was Mr. van der Bijl and Pretorius without. Being come within, a letter was shewn to me from Mr. van der Heijden who wrote to van der Bijl and me that yesterday Guiliam du Toit had been with the Governor who forthwith called him alone into a room. There he was questioned by the Governor whether he had set his hand to it when the paper about him was written; whereupon Mons du Toit roundly answered him: Yes, Sir. Then asked the Governor: Who compelled you to this? Du Toit gave answer: "My conscience, Sir," adding thereto: "This morning I brought a leaguer of wine to the Leaseholder who, according to bargain, should still receive 13 leaguers; but instead of receiving wine he rated me scurvily as I were a sneak-thief." The Governor said further: "Why did you not advise me if it did not go well with

you, before you wrote ill of me? I should then indeed have put you to rights." Du Toit answered: "It would have been much the same as now, and if I my self were helped yet were the whole community still not helped. I am an old man, my course will soon be run. What I have written came to pass out of love of the community." Over this stout-hearted speech the Governor was amazed and thereupon said to him: "Did I not give you a piece of land?" Du Toit answered: "Yes, Sir; the dry post over the Berg River." Upon this said the Governor again: "Du Toit, I have not deserved this thing of you (and that he said thrice over); and I had not expected it of you. I hope God will do unto you as you have done to me." At which du Toit answered: "I hope so, Sir." Thereupon they parted. In this du Toit has shewn that he is an honest man, and 'twere to be wished there were more such patriots.

FRIDAY 19TH

Still, warm morning. This morning, sitting before the door with Messrs. van der Bijl and Pretorius, the old landdrost, Mr. Mulder, arrived here from the Cape, greeting me from Uncle Husing and other friends. He told me that the landdrost Beelzebub was abroad for to canvas folk for the Governor, but that in his judgment 'twas mustard after meat, and that he him self did fast conceit that the Governor was hard put to it, and that perhaps he was for leaving the Cape, and hence this agitation. He warned me to keep it close; mean while is it spread everywhere abroad. He told me that I must be on my guard, etc.; with that he departed. The Messrs. van der Bijl and Pretorius also went their ways. Mean while I wrote a letter to Mr. van der Heijden, which Mr. van der Bijl and Pretorius signed together with me. Andries, Mr. van der Heijden's son, took the letter with him. When I had smoaked a pipe or two of tobacco at Mr. van der Bijl's house and drunk some wine therewith, I strolled home toward midday. In the afternoon Hans the smith's good wife came here, and the sexton's jade; shortly thereafter the Mistresses van der Bijl, Pretorius, and Francijntie, Jacob Cloet's wife, also Messrs. van der Bijl, Pretorius, Jan Elberts and Appel. The friends took some pastime in hand and toward evening departed together. Our folk have been busy threshing again today. This evening when the table was already lay'd for somewhat to munch, two Frenchmen came here, named Estienne Nel and Jacques Malan. They told me that they had been interrogated by the landdrost Beelzebub at Hercules du Pre's house whether they knew any thing to tell of the Governor; whether they knew him not for an honest man who governed well, and was

an upholder of religion. The like was read out to them from a paper to the end they should sign it, but Mr. Nel said that he knew nought of it, and that he would not sign. The landdrost boarded him then with harsh threats, yet he gave answer that he had no wish to sign even were Haman's gallows raised for him, and that he sure durst say this to the Governor him self; that he was afraid of none; that knaves and thieves might fear, and more such plain speaking. The landdrost told him that he would soon settle that. Upon this the man departed. Jacques Malan now stepped into the room, and was attacked in a similar fashion, but the same gave answer that he had no wish to sign. With that said the landdrost: "Get you gone from here", when the man went. How the rest of the men carry'd themselves they did not know. After they had eaten and drunk some thing here, and afforded me a little conversation they rid away together.

SATURDAY 20TH

Fair morning. This morning I rid in company with Mr. van der Bijl to Mr. du Toit's. We found him not at home for he had been called to Matthys Greef's house. We rid thither. Mr. Appel also arrived there, where we were told that yesterday all the free-men at the Cape, Blacks included, were summoned by the Messenger to the Governor. When they made their appearance at the Castle they were well bestowed with wine, tobacco, etc. Then the Governor brought a paper to light, the which he had them sign. The men were amazed, not knowing what the significance of it was. However, they durst not refuse signing it. It was to the effect that they pronounced the Governor to be an honest man. Yet those who do such a thing are rogues; or it must be that these men had found the Governor his lost honour, as then 'twould be reasonable that they should be prepared to return it to him, but in my opinion all the pitiable figures which the Governor cuts now-a-days are nought else but death struggles. Mr. Greef was merry, singing divers catches at the top of his voice, but the man was full of new wine. He said he would rather lose his head than sign for the Governor, and those who signed for the Governor he held for accursed rogues, and this went so far that he wished them to perdition. When we had been seated there awhile, drunk some glasses of wine, and smoaked we rid to Mr. du Toit's house. We partook of dinner there and then rid home. This night came loud knocking upon our door. He who knocked was Abraham Bleusel, who came riding from Drakenstein (true-hearted piece) to tell me that he, together with other Frenchmen to the number of 15, had been to François du Toit's house, where the landdrost was, to

make them sign a paper for the Governor. The landdrost first sought to move them to it by promises; afterwards by violent threats, the while he was so cursed wroth that he was livid in the face and read out the paper shaking. Also a catchpol stood there who had shut the door, and stood on guard. Abraham Bleusel took up the word declaring roundly that he would sure sign his name but first write his complaints over it, and so he might not do that he would not sign. Upon the word of this man the people come together there made off without one of them wishing to sign, so that the landdrost is come away with a flea in his ear, seeing that his threats could carry no weight. I hope the hulking scoundrel will fare thus in more places. After these men had brought their story to an end and had drunk a glass of wine they took horse again and rid to Drakenstein.

SUNDAY 21ST

Exceeding warm morning. This morning came Joannes Vlok with the chaise. He was minded to have us drive with him, but at the moment it could not be. Shortly thereafter I walked to Mr. van der Bijl's to whom I imparted the above good news, then I strolled home again. Toward evening Mr. Vlok departed. Brother Louw came here with Mr. van der Heijden, as well as Mr. van der Bijl and Gerrit Remkes. Mr. van der Heijden told me many droll things of the Cape about the Governor's "honest" declaration; that there were divers Blacks that had been banished and lashed had signed. Now for sure is the Governor honest, but a sorrier potentate never I saw than the one who must suborn his lost honour of scoundrels.

MONDAY 22ND

Fine morning. This forenoon Messrs. van der Heijden, van der Bijl, Pretorius, Jan Elberts came here, as well as the sick-comforter van der Maas (my travelling companion), and Roggeveen. Mr. Kina also came here, and Hercules du Pre, Appel, and Arij van Wijk, who told us that van Staden and van Zijl were fallen away, but that he was of opinion that most of the men in the Waggonmakers' Valley would not sign. We spoke together with particularity of the Governor's disgustful agitation and of his unmannerly emissary the landdrost. Some of the friends went to Mr. van der Bijl's, the others staid with me to dinner. After dinner came Hans the smith with Skipper Salm. We set to work upon Hans and put it to him whether it were not fair that he should give a statement to us that he had signed against his will; and that he was sorry for it; that he had signed out of fear, and did not

even know why he had set his name to it. When Hans the smit had done same he rid to the Cape with Skipper Salm. Shortly afterwards Appel departed with Arij van Wijk; a while later Mr. Kina and du Pree.

TUESDAY 23RD

Cloudy morning, it also began to rain. This morning the Messrs. Vlok, father and son, came here. Mr. Vlok the elder related that there was a deal of commotion at the Cape; that therefore he had ridden into the country. The young Vlok related how it was told him that the landdrost was bidden to the Governor for to know the reason why he had used too many threats abroad among the farmers, and overmuch severity. In the forenoon Mr. van der Heijden also came here for a chat. This day received a letter from brother van Brakel who much wished to know how it had fallen out with the farmers of Drakenstein concerning the Governor's "honest" declaration. Thereupon answered him in a note sent to him.

WEDNESDAY 24TH

Warm morning. This morning Mons van die Heijden came here, with whom, together with brother Louw, I walked to Mr. van der Bijl's house. I saw from there a rider come riding on to our ground whereupon I stepped home. When I arrived home I discovered the rider to be Mr. Guillian du Toit. The same read out to me a letter from his brother François du Toit, who made known to him that the landdrost had for the second time approached him to have him sign, but he would not. Upon that the landdrost had said: "Come, sign, for Tas is already at the Cape for the purpose of signing, and to beg the Governor's forgiveness." Accursed tongue of a blackguardly ruffian! I have the while answered Mr. du Toit's letter, and added thereto a declaration by several of our brotherhood to remain concerning this matter standing shoulder to shoulder, the which we seven signed, namely: van der Heijden, van der Bijl, G. du Toit, Appel, Jan Elberts, Jacobus Louw, and Tas. In the afternoon went near by here with Mons van der Heijden to secure a declaration from Willem van Zijl. The same, as well as his wife, was in the devil of a fix. When by his signing he shewed his regret he was again received. About midnight there was banging upon our door. We opened it and found that the two Frenchmen [at the door] were of our brotherhood. Thereupon I caused Mr. van der Heijden to be summoned, brother Louw got up also. Mean while, a declaration was drawn up and signed.

After we had drunk a glass or two of wine and smoaked a pipe Mr. van der Heijden went his way. The two friends gave their horses a hearty good feed, then we drank a stirrup-cup, whereupon the friends took horse and departed. This night I was told that there were three Commissioners about to come abroad who would go from house to house, in order to bring to it by fair promises the men who would not sign.

THURSDAY 25TH

Warm morning. This morning Mr. van der Heijden came here with two Frenchmen of our brotherhood. Mr. Abraham Bleusel brought me a letter from Mr. Pierre Villiers [Huguenot] to whom I reply'd. Furthermore, our two friends also made a statement of their proceedings with the rogue Beelzebub. When we had drunk and smoaked with the friends, as well as drunk to their safe journey, they departed. Mean while the Messrs. van der Heijden and van der Bijl remained here to talk awhile, but at midday, together with brother Louw and Mr. Gerrit Remkes, they walked to Mr. van der Bijl's house; the three of them to ride from thence to the Cape. Mr. van der Heijden to come into the country again next Sunday.

FRIDAY 26TH

Fair morning. This morning Mr. van der Bijl came here with one Pieter Erasmus, residing in the Waggonmakers' Valley. The man reported him self as not having signed. He then handed in a statement of what had befallen him; whereupon he departed again. In the afternoon Messrs. van der Maas and Roggeveen rid to William Nel's. They came home in the evening and were right merry.

SATURDAY 27TH

Warm morning. This morning at half past seven the three Commissioners arriv'd here: Verseijl, U. Cruse, and Vieravond. Being dismounted from their horses they came into the harbour. When we had sat down Verseijl took up the word asking me nought but: "Have you any old wine to supply to the Company?" Whereupon I answered: No. I had the gentlemen served with a drop. Then they took horse again and departed.

[Here ends the fragment of Tas's diary. During the night of the 27th he was arrested on a charge of sedition.]

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Certain people and matter of Tas's diary referred to in *The First South Africans* find place in the index, but the diary itself is not indexed. Its constant repetition of names provides little information beyond chit-chat, and the references to discontent with the Governor convey hardly more than the fact of its exuberant existence. The particular value of the diary rests in the glimpse it gives of life at the period, and this value is only to be garnered from it as a whole.

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